DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 217 411 CS 206 840

AUTHOR Scott, Jerrie Cobb
TITLE The Influence of Spoken Language Patterns on the Writing of Black College Freshmen.
SPONS AGENCY National Council of Teachers of English, Urbana, Ill. Research Foundation.
PUB DATE [81]
NOTE 88p.; Table 4 may not reproduce well due to small type.

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC04 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Black Dialects; Black Students; College Freshmen; Dialect Studies; English; Higher Education; *Influences; *Language Patterns; *Language Research; *Oral Language; Standard Spoken Usage; Writing Skills; *Written Language

ABSTRACT

A study explored the relationship between oral and written patterns produced by a group of black college freshmen enrolled in remedial writing classes. Forty students were asked to produce, in formal language style, both oral and written summaries of a reading selection. The data were analyzed to determine (1) the extent to which patterns, classified as general American English (GAE), black American English (BAE), and intralectal (IL)--neither GAE or BAE--varied from oral to written language; (2) the effects of nonedited American English (NAE) patterns (categorized as dialect patterns, speech code errors, and print code errors) on text effectiveness; and (3) the extent to which more proficient and less proficient writers differed in their use of NAE patterns. The results of the analysis revealed that subjects did vary in their oral and written production of non-GAE patterns and that the variations occurred in different forms. Specifically, it was found that dialect patterns had a greater effect on text effectiveness scores than did patterns in the other NAE categories and that high and low proficiency writers differed both quantitatively and qualitatively in their use of NAE patterns. (Appendixes contain definitions of terms, forms used in the study, and copies of coded writing samples.) (FL)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED217411

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

THE INFLUENCE OF SPOKEN LANGUAGE PATTERNS ON THE WRITING OF BLACK COLLEGE FRESHMEN

Principal Investigator
Jerrie Cobb Scott

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Jerrie Cobb Scott

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

CS206942

The research reported herein was supported by the National Council of Teachers of English Research Foundation.

The Influence of Spoken Language Patterns
on the
Writing of Black College Freshmen

This study explored the relationship between oral and written patterns produced by a group of Black college freshmen enrolled in remedial writing classes. Participants were asked to produce, in a formal language style, both an oral and a written summary of a reading selection. Data were analyzed to determine (1) the extent to which patterns, classified as General American English (GAE), Black American English (BAE), and Intralectal (IL = neither GAE nor BAE), varied from oral to written language, (2) the effects of non-edited American English patterns--categorized as Dialect Patterns, Speech Code errors and Print Code errors, on text effectiveness, and (3) the extent to which more-proficient and less-proficient writers differed in their use of non-Edited American English patterns. From a theoretical perspective, findings of this study were expected to provide clarifying information on the debates over the dialect-interference theory and its efficacy in explaining the processes of learning a second dialect. From a practical perspective, findings of this study were expected to provide guidelines for planning writing programs for speakers of non-mainstream dialects.

The first part of this report consists of a rationale for the study, a review of relevant literature and a description of research methods. The second part of the report describes the methods used to analyze the data and the results obtained from the analyses. The conclusions and implications for further studies are discussed in the last section of the report.

Rationale for the Study

Much of the research that investigates relationships between the spoken and written language patterns produced by Black students has been guided by

the assumption that contrasts between Black American English (BAE) and General American English (GAE) result in interference, thereby causing Black students to produce large numbers of unacceptable sentences in written compositions. This assumption, known as the dialect-interference hypothesis, has been the source of much debate among researchers. Research on dialect and writing, like other research on dialect and learning, subsided during the late 1970's, leaving many questions unresolved. As a result of the 1979 (Joiner) Decision in the case of King School Children v. Ann Arbor School District, a case which focused on the school's failure to provide instructional programs that would accommodate the language differences of eleven Black children, assumptions about dialect-interference and about instructional accommodations to language differences are currently being re-evaluated. At the same time, however, practitioners are attempting to plan instruction based on an identification and remediation of dialect problems. With regard to writing, for example, one hears references to a new category of writing errors, dialect-interference errors, and in some cases remedial writing programs have been designed to focus primarily on problems of dialect-interference and writing. Such a focus poses problems, for it is still not at all clear how dialect influences writing. The unresolved issues must therefore be raised in the form of empirical questions and investigated with the same rigor as was characteristic of the earlier research. In order to improve writing instruction for minority students, we need more information about the relative influence of spoken language on the production of written language. In order to better understand how spoken language influences the production of written language, more research is needed. These two needs are addressed by this study.

Review of the Literature

The two general questions addressed by this research are quite similar to those found in other studies: (1) How is the relative influence of spoken

language patterns on the production of written language patterns to be determined? and (2) How can information about the relation of spoken language patterns to written language patterns be used to aid in the instructional process? First it should be noted that those who have conducted research on dialect and writing have found the theory of dialect-interference incapable of accounting for all non-GAE patterns produced by Black students (Smitherman, 1969; Sternglass, 1974; and Whiteman, 1976). This previous work is best discussed in relation to problems confronting the researcher. But before addressing the technical problems of the researcher, it is useful to review two other theories about how spoken language influences written language.

Hartwell (1980) offers the print-code hypothesis as an alternative to the dialect-interference hypothesis. Hartwell argues that

> Dialect interference in writing, in and of itself, does not exist, and that pedagogies for teaching writing skills to native speakers of English that assume such interference are theoretically wrong, pedagogically unsound and socially unwise. (p. 101)

Instead, Hartwell suggests that "all apparent dialect interference in writing is reading-related, reflecting partial mastery of the print code..." (p. 113). The print-code hypothesis is offered, then, as an alternative, or more accurately, as a counter-hypothesis to the dialect-interference hypothesis. Imperfect mastery of the print-code may, however, be characteristic of any writer. The second alternative hypothesis, the speech code hypothesis, may also be applied to any writer. The speech-code hypothesis, though not formally referred to as such, is referred to in the work of psycholinguists. Diaute (1981), for example, has identified several language patterns that cause problems when transferred from speech to writing. Sentence fragments, for example, often do not interfere with meaning in spoken language, but usually reduce the effectiveness of written communication due to a lack of direct contact between communicator and communicatee. Such errors are thought to be due to psycholinguistic processes such as forgetting.

This characteristic of written text fits into the category of speech rather than dialect. A second characteristic of spoken language used to account for students' production of non-GAE patterns has been referred to by Collins and Williamson (1981) as abbreviated syntax. When investigating language patterns of poor writers, these researchers note that where oral communication has been highly dependent upon abbreviated meanings, the same kind of communication pattern is carried over to written language. Of the features of text associated with abbreviated meaning, the use of personal pronouns (he) and demonstrative pronouns (this) without clear referents have been identified as characteristics commonly found in the writing of Black students. This viewpoint is possibly related to Bernstein's theories about elaborated and restricted codes (1970), the latter being used by members of lower socio-economic groups who are accustomed to communicating only in informal, personal social settings. Certainly as the work on dialect and writing continues, assumptions other than the dialect-interference assumption will need to be considered. Although the most immediate concerns of this study have to do with the dialect-interference hypothesis and related proposals for instructional programs, these alternative explanations helped to resolve a problem that occurred in the research design, as will be seen in the discussion of research methods. The three studies having the most direct influence on the design of this study, however, were conducted by Smitherman (1969), Sternglass (1974), and Whiteman (1976).

From each of the studies, one gains useful information about how the question of dialect and writing might be approached in research. Smitherman suggests that the dialect patterns found in her data require explanations based on discourse patterns rather than on structural features of written text. The implication of Smitherman's suggestion is that contrastive analysis of structural patterns is limited as a research tool. In the dialect interference research, the patterns targeted for contrastive analysis are usually those salient features

of Black English that were identified in the urban language research on dialect variation (Fasold, 1972; Labov, Cohen, Robin & Lewis, 1968).

Sternglass (1974) reports that in her study, errors produced by Black and White students were not significantly different. She found that Black students produced dialect patterns more frequently than White students, but that dialect features were produced by both groups in similar linguistic environments. She concluded that there was a quantitative but not a qualitative difference in the use of the following structures: (1) past tense and past participial forms, (2) forms of to be, (3) subject-verb agreement (4) articles, (5) prepositions, and (6) pronouns. As the major pedagogical implication of her study, Sternglass offers the view that "separate language materials for white and black students are not needed in remedial college level writing classes" (1974, p. 282).

Indirectly, Sternglass questions the notion that spoken language, Black English, interferes with the production of GAE patterns. Her analysis of data was based, however, on comparisons between quantitatively-based descriptions of students' written language patterns and non-quantitative data for the spoken language patterns. That is, as spoken language data, Sternglass used salient features of Black English as described in the urban language studies. Consequently, her comparisons were based on unequivalent sets of data with no provisions for verifying the actual occurrence of features in students' spoken dialect.

Whiteman's study did, however, include quantitative data for both the spoken and written language patterns of subjects. Oral data were obtained in "an informal sociolinguistic interview," and written data were obtained "from compositions written in English class" (1979, p. 5). Concerning both the White and Black non-standard speakers, Whiteman notes that a limited number of nonstandard features occurred in the writing samples:

(1) Verbal -s absence: He walk_ to school every day;

(2) Plural -s absence: They walk down the street with their radio_ in their hand_;

(3) Possessive -s absence: Then we went over to my girlfriend_ house;

(4) Verb -ed absence: He miss__ the bus yesterday;

(5) Is and are absence: She __ so calm....

Whiteman concludes that dialect influence "is responsible for some occurrences of nonstandard features in writing, but that it is not solely responsible" (1979, p. 10). Her conclusion seems to be based on the finding that certain features occurred more frequently in her written than in her oral language samples. Apparently if the features occur with either similar degrees of frequency in the spoken and written data or with a higher percentage in the spoken than in the written data, then Whiteman views these frequency relationships as evidence of dialect influence. Although the Whiteman study provides quantitative data for oral and written language, there is one other factor that could have influenced the percentage of dialect features that occurred in her spoken language data. In collecting the oral language data, Whiteman notes that "contextual factors... were used to obtain the most natural speech possible" (p. 9). I take this to mean informal speech. The written language data came from compositions written in English class. It appears that the setting, the topic, and the speech style were different for the elicitation of oral and written language data. Since each of these features have been shown to influence the frequency with which speakers use certain forms (Labov, 1972; Straker, 1980), it is quite possible that the frequency differences are due partially to the different language settings. What would have happened, for example, if the oral and written language

data had been controlled for setting, topic, and speech style? It is quite clear that Whiteman followed the procedure for collecting data that would represent the subject's most natural language patterns. While such procedures have been used quite successfully by researchers interested in describing the language system of a particular group, the same procedures might pose limitations on studies that investigate relations between oral and written language. The problem is that when writing is produced in composition courses, it is usually intended to be formal, whereas "natural" speech data is intended to be informal. In view of Labov's description of Black English as an "inherently variable system," which means that the variable occurrence of features is a natural part of the system, it seems crucial that consideration be given to variables, such as speech style and communication mode, that influence the frequency with which certain features are used.

From this discussion of past research on dialect and writing, three new directions for research can be inferred. First, quantitative data should be provided for both the oral and written patterns of the group investigated. Second, it seems reasonable to control the data for factors known to influence the frequency with which dialect features are used. Third, more attention needs to be given to possible limitations of the contrastive analysis model for conducting research. On one hand, not enough attention has been given to the problems of comparing unequivalent sets of data and of controlling data for speech style and mode of presentation. On the other hand, hardly any attention has been given to the methods used to classify language patterns.

My own exploratory work on dialect errors in writing suggests that many of the non-GAE patterns in Black students' writing cannot be classified as either BAE or GAE patterns. Instead, some of the deviant patterns are more similar to what Jack Richards (1979) has labeled intralingual errors for

second language and bilingual speakers. Intralingual errors are characterized by overgeneralizations, ignorance of rule restrictions, and false concepts hypothesized. By analogy then, we might consider intralectal patterns as a third category for describing the language patterns of second dialect and bidialectal speakers. Finally, very little attention has been given to the relative influence of structural features on the effectiveness of written text or to the differential use of non-GAE patterns by writers who are at different levels of proficiency. Certainly these variables need to be considered within the context of questions about the influence of spoken language on written language. It is also clear from the discussion above that the question of how spoken language influences written language may require explanations that go beyond dialect features. Since the dialect-interference hypothesis currently serves as the basis for designing special programs for speakers of non-mainstream dialects, it is important that this hypothesis be tested again, but with serious consideration given to limitations and implications of prior research. Such is the intent of this study.

Research Methods

The research methods used in this study attempt to address some of the methodological problems discussed above. First, the research questions posed here required an analysis of writing on the basis of effectiveness of written text and proficiency of the writer. Second, in order to avoid the problem of comparing unequivalent sets of data, the data elicitation procedures allowed for the collection of both oral language and written language samples. Third, in order to eliminate the problem of "forcing" data into either BAE or GAE categories, additional categories were designated--Intralectal, Speech Code errors, and Print Code errors. For an explanation of the technical terms used in this discussion of methods, see Appendix A. This section presents

the research questions and describes the participants, the participants' tasks, the data collection procedures, and the coding of oral and written samples.

Research Questions. The data for addressing the research questions was gathered from a target population of forty (40) Black college freshmen, all identified for placement in remedial writing. The three research questions investigated in this study are:

(1) to what extent do morphemic and syntactic patterns vary from oral to written language?

(2) To what extent does the occurrence of features of Black English affect the overall effectiveness of written text?

(3) How does the use of morphemic and syntactic patterns found in the writing of more-proficient writers differ from that of less-proficient writers?

The first question represents an attempt to test theoretical assumptions associated with the dialect-interference hypothesis. The second and third questions are expected to yield information about the feasibility of using contrastive analysis of dialect patterns for discerning sources of errors in writing and for planning writing instruction. Unlike prior studies on dialect and writing, this study treats text-effectiveness and writer proficiency as essential parts of the research design. By so doing, the study provides an empirical basis for discussing both theoretical and pedagogical issues, particularly as those issues relate to the target population of this study.

Subjects. The participants in this study were Black, first-term college freshmen. Only Black students who had been identified for remedial writing instruction were asked to participate. This particular group was selected for several reasons. First, the dialect-interference hypothesis was originally offered to account for problems encountered by Black students. Second, of the special instructional programs that have been developed to accommodate dialect variation, most represent an acceptance of the dialect-interference.

hypothesis, and most have been designed specifically for use with Black students. Third, it is generally believed that features of spoken language are transferred to writing most readily by writers with underdeveloped skills or limited writing experience. Quite possibly the use of spoken language features in writing is one of the key characteristics used to define unskilled writers. Nevertheless, students assigned to remedial writing courses can be expected to use more of the features being studied than other students. Fourth, in remedial writing courses, a good deal of time is usually spent on sentence-level writing problems; therefore, any guidelines for instruction are most likely to be considered for use by instructors of remedial writing. It follows then that Black students who have been identified for remedial writing instruction would be selected for study.

Forty-three students volunteered to participate in this study. Data elicited from the first forty volunteers were used in the study. Each subject was asked to complete a personal data form (see Appendix B). According to information provided on the personal data forms, thirty-nine of the forty students attended high school in the state of Florida. Thirty-six of the forty students attended high school in the state of Florida. A total of sixteen males and twenty-four females participated in the study. Of the sixteen males, eight indicated that they had taken writing courses in high school. Seven males and eight females indicated that they had written papers in other courses but had not taken a writing course. Three males and six females had neither taken a writing course nor written papers in other courses. This information was collected because it might have some bearing on students' writing performance. Although no specific controls were set up for different kinds of exposure to writing or for sex differences, this group was relatively homogeneous in that most were educated in Florida and entered the university

under special admission criteria, which means that either their high school grade point average or their standardized test scores were below that required for regular admission.

Data Collection Procedures. Six sessions were arranged for collecting data. Each session was fifty minutes long. In each session, participants were asked to perform three tasks:

(1) Read a selection silently while listening to a tape recording of the same passage;

(2) Based on the information remembered from the passage, provide an oral summary of the passage on a tape recorder; and

(3) Based on the information remembered from the passage, provide a written summary of the passage.

Although these directions were read orally to students as well as written, students were reminded to review them upon completion of Task One. In order to keep students from quoting directly from the passage, the reading selections were collected upon completion of Task One. It should be noted that Task One was set up as a small group task. Five minutes were provided for review of the passage. The passage was then collected, and students were assigned to study carrels which were equipped with tape recorders for oral summaries, pencil and paper for written summaries, and directions describing the tasks to be completed. Ten minutes were allowed for oral summaries and twenty-five minutes for written summaries. Although the tape recorders were checked prior to the data collection sessions, four of the tapes were inaudible. For two of the four tapes, students spoke in such low voices that it was difficult to transcribe the tapes. One of the four tapes contained a loud, clear opening statement, but no more. The fourth tape contained no detectable voice sounds, possibly a mechanical problem. The remaining thirty-six tapes were quite audible.

The decision to use the same task for collecting oral and written data represents an attempt to control for speech style, topic, and mode of discourse. As mentioned above, speech style has been shown to influence the frequency of occurrence of Black English features. By requiring participants to provide both an oral and a written summary of the same passage, it was possible to control for topic and mode. By assigning a school-like task, "summarize the passage," it was possible to indirectly control for speech style. Thirty-six oral and forty written samples, controlled for topic, mode and speech style, served as the data base for this study.

Coding Oral and Written Samples. In order to arrive at a linguistic description of the data, patterns in the oral and written data were coded using three categories: Black American English (BAE), Intralectal (IL), and General American English (GAE). The BAE and IL patterns as a set are referred to as non-GAE patterns. Coded samples of oral and written data are presented in Appendix C. The coding of the samples represents the first step in providing a linguistic description of the data. By contrasting linguistic descriptions of oral language patterns with linguistic descriptions of written language patterns for each student, it will be possible to arrive at an answer to question one -- To what extent do the morphemic and syntactic patterns vary from oral to written language?

Research questions two and three address the problem of the influence of language structures on text effectiveness and writer proficiency. An objective measure of text effectiveness and writer proficiency was needed. Holistic evaluations of written samples served as the objective measure of text effectiveness and writer proficiency. The ratings for text effectiveness ranged from 1 (low) to 6 (high), and the ratings for levels of proficiency were originally designated as 1-3 for low proficiency and 4-6 for high

proficiency, but had to be changed because of the small number of papers receiving high-proficiency ratings.

With regard to text effectiveness, I wanted to find out how holistic ratings of written text would be influenced by the presence and absence of non-General American English (non-GAE) patterns. I reasoned that if the presence of non-GAE patterns in written text had a negative influence on the effectiveness of the written text, then the substitution of General American English (GAE) patterns for non-GAE patterns would result in higher ratings. If the original papers and a matched set of papers, revised to fit GAE rules, were rated holistically, it would be possible to attain a measure of the relative influence of non-GAE patterns on the overall effectiveness of the writing by having both the original and the revised sets graded holistically.

With regard to writer proficiency, I wanted to find out whether the linguistic patterns used by more-proficient writers differed from those used by less-proficient writers. If both high- and low-proficiency writers used the same kinds of patterns but differed in the frequency of usage, the differences could be described as quantitative differences. If the two groups used different patterns, the differences could be described as qualitative differences.

After completing the first step, the coding of written language patterns, it was apparent that modifications in the research procedure would be needed. As can be seen in Table 1, not all of the written samples contained GAE and IL patterns.

Table 1 - Number of Dialect Patterns: BAE & IL
In Written Samples

The papers did, however, contain other non-GAE structural patterns that could influence text effectiveness. As mentioned in the Review of the Literature,

two broad categories of errors have been discussed in recent literature: speech code errors (SC), which are associated with constraints on memory and the influence of semantic recoding on sentence production (Daiute, 1981), and print code errors (PC), which are associated with imperfect mastery of the print code (Hartwell, 1980). In view of the fact that not all of the written samples contained GAE and IL patterns, coding procedures were modified to include SC and PC errors.

The speech code errors used in this study are of two basic types, errors that occur in expanded syntax (Daiute, 1981) and errors that occur as abbreviated syntax (Collins & Williamson, 1981). See Table 2 for samples of speech code (SC) errors. Print code errors, a potentially broad category, was used to code two types of print code errors: punctuation and spelling. Table 3 presents the results of the modified procedures for coding sentence patterns.

Table 2 - Samples of Speech Code Error Patterns

Table 3 - Number of Non-GAE Patterns:
Dialect Patterns (DP), Speech Code Errors (SC), and Print Code Errors (PC)
In Written Samples

Rather than using one category of deviant patterns occurring in the written samples, three categories were used: dialect (includes GAE and IL patterns), speech code errors, and print code errors. All may be considered as non-EAE, since they violate rules for editing written English. Consequently, another group of terms was adopted for use in the discussion of research question two: Edited American English (EAE), which refers literally to structures covered by conventional rules for "editing" written language, and

three categories of non-Edited American English structures: (1) Dialect Patterns which includes BAE and IL patterns, (2) Speech Code Errors, and (3) Print Code Errors. A decision was made to 1) change dialect patterns to General American English patterns on papers containing three or more non-GAE patterns, 2) change speech code patterns to GAE on papers containing three or more SG errors, and 3) change print code errors to GAE on papers containing nine or more PC errors. These designations were made on the basis of the average number of non-GAE patterns occurring in the written samples (see Table 3). It was also noted that some papers contained high occurrences of two and sometimes three different error types, while others contained too few errors to warrant revision according to the guidelines established for revisions. For the former group, it would be impossible to determine which error type was influencing the evaluations; therefore, two versions of papers with high occurrences of two different error types were provided for some of the papers. The total number of original papers was forty and the total number of revised papers was thirty-eight. For a list of original papers and revised papers according to error type, see Appendix D.

Holistic Ratings of the Writing Samples. Each of the seventy-eight papers was evaluated by ten holistic readers. All evaluators were graduate students, trained to perform holistic evaluations. Rather than providing the holistic readers with range finders, a procedure that provides sample papers representing different levels of efficiency, the holistic readers were provided with a description of the tasks assigned to students and asked to rate the papers as spontaneously as possible. Because the papers were arranged into groups so that the original and revised samples would not occur in close proximity, the holistic readers were required to read the papers in the order assigned. The papers were also arranged so that different groups of papers would be read in a different order, a step taken

in order to limit bias in ratings caused by fatigue of the evaluators. A copy of the instructions for holistic evaluators is provided in Appendix E.

Data Analysis

The purposes of this section are to describe the methods used to analyze the data and to report the results obtained from the analyses.

Research Question One: Description of Non-GAE Patterns. The first research question treats variant representations of dialect patterns used in oral and written language. A total of 30 different non-GAE morphological and syntactic patterns occurred in the oral and written samples. See Table 4.

Table 4 - Patterns and Samples of 30 Non-GAE Forms

The largest number of non-GAE patterns occurred in the verb group; it is in this area of grammar that BAE shows the most systematic and persistent deviation from GAE. It is also in this area of grammar that GAE patterns show the most variation. Some of the patterns occurring in the verb group, the noun group and the syntax group are affected by rules that overlap each other. That is, the use of verb inflections and noun inflections can be expected to influence the production of subject-verb agreement patterns. Of the thirty non-GAE patterns, five could be clearly classified as intralectal. See patterns V10, V11, V14, N5 and S6 on Table 4. The task of classifying patterns as intralectal turned out not to be as neat and tidy a task as had been anticipated. The most difficult to classify were patterns containing structure words--for example, the use of articles and connectives, particularly those connectives containing prepositions and "which." The following two examples are from oral language data.

I feel that he went through a lot of uh, real--real live action of which he felt his ancestors went through.

He used people such as Kizzy, Fiddler, and other characters in which he portrayed his generation.

So little has been done on the structure of complex sentences in BAE that no attempt was made to treat these patterns here. An unpublished paper by Gray (1973) treats the structure of relative clauses in BAE but his analysis did not help to resolve the problem of coding the patterns found in the data. Unclear cases such as the two above were not coded and were, therefore, not considered in the analysis of data.

Comparisons of Non-GAE Patterns in Oral and Written Samples. Using the pattern descriptions in Table 4, occurrences of each feature in the oral and written samples were counted. Table 5 provides the results for the total group.

Table 5 - Number of Non-GAE Patterns in Oral and Written Samples

---

Many of the non-GAE patterns had low rates of occurrence; however, there was a tendency for the patterns to have higher rates of occurrence in the oral than in the written samples. It should be noted here that the rate of occurrence of spoken dialect patterns has been shown to be much higher for informal than for formal speech styles (Labov, 1966). While controlling for speech style may provide a better basis for comparison, the potential disadvantage is that this control might result in the elicitation of fewer spoken dialect forms. Nevertheless, the differences in the rates of occurrences between the oral and written samples provided evidence that morphemic and syntactic patterns vary from oral to written language and permitted the identification of patterns most or least likely to be used

in both oral and written language, in oral but not in written language, and in written language but not in oral language. Patterns occurring in each of the above three categories are identified in Table 6.

Table 6 - Non-GAE Patterns: Oral Only, Oral and Written, Written Only

---

In order to determine whether differences between the number of occurrences of patterns in the oral and written samples were statistically significant, the Friedman two-way analysis of variance was used. When the thirty non-GAE patterns were considered individually, no significant difference was found between numbers of occurrences in oral and written. When non-GAE patterns were compared by groups, i.e. verbs, nouns, syntax, and structure words, no significant difference was found. However, when the total number of non-GAE patterns in oral and written samples was considered, the difference was statistically significant. These results are presented in Table 7.

Table 7 - Results of Friedman Two-Way ANOVA
on Non-GAE Patterns in Oral and Written Samples

While there is some evidence of variance in the use of oral and written language patterns, the question of whether the occurrence of non-GAE features in the written samples can be attributed to spoken language has not been addressed. Consideration had to be given to the variable usage of GAE and non-GAE patterns. In order to arrive at a quantitatively-based description of variable usage, investigators have generally used percentages, which are computed by dividing the number of occurrences of a pattern by the number of possible occurrences of the pattern. A detailed explanation of the role these percentages play in formulating variable rules is provided by Labov (1973)

in Sociolinguistic Patterns in Language Variation and by Fasold (1972) in Tense Markings in Black English. Both scholars emphasize the need to consider the consistency of usage of non-GAE patterns in relation to usage of comparable GAE patterns in accounting for variable usage.

In Whiteman's (1979) study of the relation between forms produced in spoken and written language, she used the same procedures for quantifying her written and oral data as Fasold and Labov. Recall also that Whiteman suggested guidelines for interpreting the relationship between usage levels representing oral and written data: if percentages of usage in oral are equal to or greater than percentages in written, then the written patterns can be attributed to influence from the spoken. By following the above guidelines for quantifying data and for interpreting relationships between usage in oral and written language, it was possible to provide another basis for determining the importance of the variance between usage of non-GAE patterns in the oral and written data. Results from these analyses are presented in Table 8, which gives the percentage of usage in oral and written samples for each of the thirty non-GAE patterns.

Table 8 - Percentages of Usage of Non-GAE Patterns in Oral and Written Samples

---

Noting that for some of the patterns non-GAE usage was dominant (over 50% usage) in both oral and written language with relatively minor differences in the percentages, while other patterns showed the opposite trend, I decided to examine the patterns further to determine whether the notion of dominance would be useful for explaining the differential relationships between oral and written usage of the patterns. Since the usage figures are derived

from numbers representing a comparison between non-GAE and GAE usage, the dominant usage of a non-GAE pattern (over 50%) also represents non-dominant usage of the corresponding GAE pattern (under 50%). By considering the patterns on the basis of dominant usage, it would be possible to treat the percentages as representative of a more generalized probability measure. We could then use more generalized descriptions (± Dominant Oral/± Dominant Written) to distinguish between transfer and non-transfer patterns. Table 9 describes patterns according to dominant Non-GAE usage in the oral and written samples for the total group.

Table 9 - Dominant vs. Non-Dominant Usage of Non-GAE Patterns in Oral in Oral and Written Samples

---

Of the sixteen patterns showing dominant usage of Non-GAE in the oral language, twelve also showed dominant Non-GAE usage in the written language. Of the fourteen patterns showing non-dominant usage in oral language, seven also showed non-dominant usage in the written language. Tentatively, it seemed feasible to consider patterns with shared-dominance features in oral and written as transfer patterns and those with mixed-dominance features as non-transfer patterns. Apparently some patterns have a high level of transferability (+Dom Or/+Dom Wr), but other patterns have a low level of tranferability (-Dom Or/-Dom Wr).

When compared to the patterns designated as transfer and non-transfer by the More-Less Method of classifying patterns, seven transfer and five non-trnasfer patterns were classified in the same way by the Dominance Method of Classification. These patterns are preceded by a (.) in Table 9. It is important to note that all seven transfer patterns had shared-dominance

features in oral and written, and all five non-transfer patterns had mixed-dominance features in oral and written. These results support the assumption that shared-dominance features represent transfer and that mixed-dominance features represent non-transfer.

Among the patterns containing mixed features were four of the intralectal patterns (IL), two of which were identified as non-transfer by both methods of classification. See IL patterns V11 and V14 on Table 9. As the patterns least susceptible to transfer processes, since they are not a part of the subjects' acquired language system, the IL patterns had the greatest potential for providing information about sources other than spoken language that might have been influencing their use. Thus, the IL patterns warranted further analysis.

Intralectal Patterns. With regard to the structure of the IL patterns, the following had to be considered:

(1) IL patterns V10 and V11 both contain modal auxiliaries with overinflected -ed suffixes;

(2) IL pattern N5 contains a noun with an overinflected -s suffix, but BAE pattern N1 contains a noun plural without the -s marker for plural;

(3) IL pattern S6 represents the subject-verb agreement pattern, but BAE pattern S1 is structurally different but represents the same syntactic category as S6.

These three points indicate that for some patterns, usage varies in three ways (GAE~BAE~IL), while for other patterns usage varies in two ways (either GAE~BAE, BAE~IL, or IL~GAE). In order to compare the variable usage of GAE, IL, and BAE patterns, it was necessary to collapse some of the individual patterns and treat the collapsed group as representative of single syntactic categories: V10 and V11 as modal-auxiliaries (Mod-Aux), N1 and N5 as noun plurals (Noun-pl), S1, S2 and S6 as subject-verb agreement patterns (Subj-V Agr). The percentage of usage

would also have to be computed differently. That is, percentages would have to be based on the number of occurrences of individual patterns of the total possible occurrences in the syntactic category. The percentages for individual patterns are therefore different from those found on preceding tables.

In examining the data, it was also important to use responses of only those subjects who produced intralectal patterns. The use of total group data for this analysis would have resulted in an aggregation of responses that would have obscured information about the source of IL patterns. If the IL patterns are syntactically unique, then those who produced them might also be unique. Since only sixteen of the subjects produced IL patterns, I decided not to mix their responses with those of the total group. Instead, the responses of these sixteen subjects were abstracted from the data and analyzed to determine whether or not IL patterns were unique in their transference from oral to written language and whether their variable occurence with BAE and GAE patterns affected the transfer process. Table 10 identifies the transfer and non-transfer patterns for the group of subjects who produced IL patterns.

Table 10 - Transfer vs. Non-Transfer Patterns of the IL Group

---

To maintain consistency in the presentation of data, both methods of classifying patterns were used. Looking first at those patterns classified in the same way by both methods, we can see that seven transfer and three non-transfer patterns were classified the same. Each of the seven transfer patterns share dominance features in oral and written language, including one pattern that was non-dominant in

both the oral and written language. Given this additional support for the Dominance Method of classifying patterns, we could justify placing the three other patterns that shared dominance features in the transfer group. Each of the three non-transfer patterns has the mixed-dominance features, but notice that not all of the non-transfer patterns were IL patterns. Had only IL patterns occurred in this group, we would have been in a position to claim a unique role for the IL patterns. The BAE pattern occurring in this group, Pattern V1, is interesting for two reasons.

First, pattern V1 is the most basic of the structures that contain the -ed morpheme, the same morpheme that is over-inflected in the two other non-transfer patterns, V11 and V14. Perhaps all three are being affected by a rule change in the IL group's language system. Second, pattern V1 is interesting because it occurred as a transfer pattern for the total group but as a non-transfer pattern for the IL group. The implication here is that the IL group may not be using this pattern in the same way as other members of the group. Another striking difference between results of the total group and results for the IL group was found in response to patterns V15, N2 and N4; all occurred as non-transfer patterns for the total group but as transfer patterns for the IL group. Again the IL group may be responding to patterns in different ways from the total group, but since the data for the IL group was abstracted from that of the total group, this implication about differences between the two groups might be misleading. We already know, however, that IL users differ from the other members of the group in one way - some of their language patterns show at least a three-way variablity in usage whereas others showed only a two-way variability in usage. Figure 1 illustrates the variable usage of GAE, IL, and BAE patterns by the IL group.

Figure 1 - Variability in the Usage of Patterns by the IL Group

---

What is most revealing in Figure 1 is the dominance features of the GAE patterns. The Modal-Aux category (V10 and V11) and the Verbal-Infinitive category (V14) show that although GAE is dominant in the oral, it is not being transferred to writing, just as the IL patterns in the same two categories are not being transferred from oral to written language. All patterns in this category may have similar sources. We might note further that the IL patterns in the two categories show a two-way variability in usage, i.e. IL~GAE, and the IL patterns contain overinflected -ed morphemes, suggesting that the GAE rule is not fully understood despite the high usage of GAE patterns in the oral language. Rather, the GAE rule is in a transitional state, in the process of change, and the change is most likely taking place in written language first since it is in written language that the deviant structure is most often produced.

In the noun-plural category, the GAE usage, like the IL and BAE usage, indicates transfer. Notice that the same dominance feature is maintained from oral to written for each of the variable forms, i.e. for BAE,IL, and GAE. The usage of the BAE and IL noun-plural shows low levels of transfer, whereas the usage of GAE shows a high level of transfer. The implication here is that the GAE usage is being eliminated from the oral language, at least in the formal oral, and being replaced by the GAE pattern. The sharing of dominance features from oral to written suggests that all three variables have the same source, oral language.

Finally, in the subject-verb agreement category, the three lects are varying in a different way. The BAE and IL variables show a transfer pattern, but the GAE varible shows a non-transfer pattern. Considering the fact that

the subject-verb agreement rule marks the verb in accordance with the number of the noun, one could argue that the GAE variable differs from the IL and BAE variables because of its dependence upon rules that are affected by two different classes of words, each of which could be following different transfer processes. Such an argument cannot be supported here, but we note only that the patterns in the subject-verb agreement category cannot be attributed solely to transfer from oral to written language. Apparently the GAE rule is in a transitional stage, and the change is most likely to be taking place in written language, since it is in the written language that the GAE pattern is most often produced.

This analysis of the IL group's responses to the Non-GAE patterns indicated that the IL patterns do not have a unique classification as as non-transfer patterns. While four of the five intralectal patterns could be classified as non-transfer patterns, the noun-plural pattern was clearly a tranfer pattern. The IL patterns are, however, unique in other ways. First, they do not co-occur with BAE alone: note that we have IL~GAE and IL~GAE~BAE but not IL~BAE. This is important because it suggests that IL is more closely linked to GAE than to BAE. Since BAE and GAE may vary, the occurrence of the IL patterns in the language system means that the relationship between the BAE and GAE must undergo change. I would propose that GAE forms can be produced without a full understanding of GAE rules; the IL patterns serve as a monitoring device, its purpose being to inspect the GAE forms until enough data has been gathered to formulate a rule and to attempt to apply the rule. Second, we note that IL patterns may occur as transfer patterns. The

learner simply produces the form in writing the same way she/he would produce it in spoken language. Here we must assume that the pattern changes in the written and spoken language simoultaneously. This kind of behavior, we will call transfer. It probably is closest to what has been defined as interference-phenomena. The term transfer is used here for note that GAE patterns may also be transferred from oral to written language. In contrast to the monitoring behaviors, where conscious learning and application of rules are taking place, transfer makes use of unconscious rule applications, an acquisitional process.

Yet another kind of performance pattern was suggested by the analysis of IL patterns. In the case of the subject-verb agreement patterns, we note that although the IL and BAE variables showed a transfer pattern, the GAE variable showed a non-transfer pattern. The GAE variable was dominant in written language. Such patterns are best accounted for, it seems, on the basis of editing. That is the BAE and IL patterns are in the oral language system but with a low level of usage. When writing, but not when speaking, the learner is able to edit the language. If she/he has learned the GAE rule but still must apply it consciously, deliberate attempts are probably more successful when one is performing writing tasks than when one is speaking. These analyses suggested that non-GAE patterns may be transferred from oral to written language, GAE rules may be monitored, and Non-GAE forms may be edited out of the written language.

Research Question Two. The second research question called for an analysis of Non-EAE patterns (non-Edited American English patterns) in relation to the effectiveness of the written compositions. In order to arrive at text-effectiveness scores for the compositions, the holistic ratings of ten evaluators were avereraged. The mean ratings for each of the sevety-eight writing samples, forty original and thirty-eight revised samples, are presented in Table 11.

Table 11 - Text-Effectiveness Scores for Seventy-Eight Writing Samples

---

Using the Friedman's Analysis of Variance, text-effectiveness scores for original and revised papers were compared. The first comparisons were based on the text-effectiveness scores assigned to individual papers, i.e. the text-effectiveness score of each original paper was compared to the text-effectiveness score of a corresponding revised version of the paper. Only one set of samples showed a statistically significant difference, Sample 5 (F .05). Sample 5 was revised for speech code errors.

Referring to the diagram below, the second analysis compared differences on text-effectiveness scores for AB, AC, and BC among the original papers and DE, DF, and EF among the revised papers. The third analysis compared differences between AD, BE, and CF, i.e. between original and revised papers with high numbers of errors in each of the three Non-EAE categories. The results from these analyses are presented in Table 12.

Original Papers			Revised Papers		
DP	SC	PC	DP	SC	PC
A	B	C	D	E	F

Table 12 - Matrix of Pairs of F-Values from an Analysis of Variance of Text-Effectiveness Scores

---

These results show that the mean text-effectiveness scores differed systematically in accordance with error type. The mean rating of papers in the Speech Code group (5.2) was higher than the mean rating of papers in the Print Code group (3.2); the mean rating of papers in the Print Code group was higher than the mean rating of papers in the Dialect Pattern group (1.2). The results also show that text-effectiveness is more likely to be influenced by changes in Dialect Patterns than by changes in the other two categories. Only those papers in the Dialect Pattern group showed a significant difference between the mean text-effectiveness scores of the original and revised papers. We might infer, then, that Dialect Patterns tend to influence text-effectiveness scores more than the other Non-EAE patterns.

Research Question Three. The third question, which focused on different uses of Non-EAE patterns by Hi- and Lo-proficiency writers, required an objective measure of writing proficiency. Using the text-effectiveness scores of the forty original compositions, I identified two groups of writers: Hi-proficiency Writers, students with text-effectiveness scores at and above the mean score for the total group (2.5), and Lo-proficiency Writers, students with text-effectiveness scores below the mean score for the total group. Considering the potential range of text-effectiveness scores, the rating scale of 1-6, the mean text-effectiveness score is quite low. Recall, however, that the target population for the study was identified on the basis of assignments to remedial writing courses. Because of the low scores, the group was divided on the basis of the mean score of the group rather than on the median score of the six point scale.

By comparing the text-effectiveness scores for the two groups, it was possible to determine (1) whether the two groups differed in

the number of Non-EAE patterns produced in each of the three categories: Dialect Patterns (DP), Speech Code Errors (SC) and Print Code Errors (PC), and (2) whether the two groups used the same Dialect Patterns in their written compositions. See Tables 13 and 14 for the comparative data. By comparing the two groups' levels of usage in oral and written samples, it was possible to determine (3) whether Hi- and Lo-proficiency writers differed in their transfer of patterns from oral to written language (see Table 15).

Table 13 - Text-Effectiveness Scores of Hi- and Lo-Proficiency Writers

---

Table 13 shows high quantitative differences between the number of patterns produced by each group in two of the Non-EAE categories, Dialect Patterns and Print Code Errors. The number of Speech Code Errors produced by the two groups is remarkably similar. Recall that papers in the Speech Code group received significantly higher text-effectiveness scores than papers in the other two groups. One might have suspected that the Speech Code Errors were contributing to the higher text-effectiveness scores, but the data in Table 13 suggest that the absence of dialect patterns rather than the presence of speech code errors was influencing the ratings more. This is particularly interesting because Speech Code Errors seem to be most directly connected to meaning in written text, misrepresentation of meaning (Daiute, 1981) and under-representation of meaning (Collins and Williams, 1981). In this regard, the investigator and those assisting with revising the original papers experienced considerably more difficulty in agreeing on appropriate revisions for the speech code errors than for the dialect patterns. Our difficulty, along with the current views on Speech Code Errors,

suggests that Speech Code Errors may actually interfere with meaning more than Dialect Patterns. An important question raised but not investigated here was why did the original and revised papers in the Speech Code group not show greater differences in text-effectiveness scores?

The final observation made with respect to Table 13 was that only one member of the Hi-group produced enough dialect patterns in writing to warrant revisions, an observation that supports the view that the use of dialect patterns may be the most important differentiating characterisitc of the Hi- and Lo-proficiency writers. Recall also that the original version of papers in the Dialect Pattern group were rated significantly higher than their revised versions and significantly lower than papers in either the Speech Code or Print Code group. Other analytical procedures were therefore carried out with a focus on differences between the Hi- and Lo-proficiency writers' production of dialect patterns. See Table 14 for results.

Table 14 - Dialect Patterns in Written Compositions of Hi- and Lo-Proficiency Writers

---

Table 14 shows that Hi- and Lo-proficiency writers differ in the kinds of patterns used in writing. Fifteen of the Dialect Patterns were found in the writing of the Lo-group but not in the writing of the Hi-group, but only one pattern was used exclusively by members of the Hi-group. Eleven patterns were used by both groups in their written compositions. Thus, the two groups differ not only quantitatively (see Table 13) but also qualitatively (see Table 14) in their use of Dialect Patterns. It was this

qualitative difference, i.e. the use of different patterns in writing by the two groups, that led to the decision to examine the transfer processes of the Hi- and Lo-proficiency writers.

Both the More-Less Method and the Dominance Method of distinguishing between transfer and non-transfer pattern were used. Results from these analyses are presented in Table 15.

Table 15 - Transfer vs. Non-Transfer Patterns for Hi- and Lo- Proficiency Writers

---

Based on the More-Less Method, five transfer and five non-transfer occured for the Hi-group, as compared to seven transfer and thirteen non-transfer patterns for the Lo-group. That the Lo-group has a much higher number of non-transfer patterns than the Hi-group is not in keeping with what might be expected. Based on the dialect-interference theory, the Lo-group would be expected to show a greater tendency toward transfer patterns. Similarities between the two groups are found in patterns having the same classification. Two of the same patterns emerged as transfer patterns for both groups: S3-Inversion in Indirect questions, and P1-non-standard use of prepositions. Two of the same patterns emerged as non-transfer patterns for both groups: V1-Main Verb with ∅ morpheme for past tense, and N2 -∅ Possessive in noun phrases.

Based on the dominance Method of classifying patterns, seven transfer and three non-transfer patterns were identified for the Hi-group, as compared to sixteen transfer and four non-transfer patterns for the Lo-group. These results seem to be more in keeping with what would be expected. More transfer than non-transfer patterns emerged for both groups. Similarities between the two groups are found in the four patterns that

emerged as transfer patterns for both groups: S3 and P1, as was found using the More-Less Method, V15- Perfect Form of the Verb for Main Verb past, and N1 - ∅ inflection for plural nouns. Not any of the same patterns emerged as non-transfer for both groups. Results based on the Dominance Method would suggest that while both Hi- and Lo-proficiency writers are transferring some of the same patterns from oral to written language, they respond quite differently to patterns that are not being transferred. On the other hand, results based on the More-Less Method would suggest that the two groups are both transferring some of the same patterns as well as not transferring some of the same patterns.

It is useful here to note those patterns which are classed in the same way by both methods of classification:

Transfer for both groups - S3, P1
Transfer for Hi-group - V8, V15, N1
Transfer for Lo-group - V13, S6, S4, M1
Non-Transfer for Hi-group- V11, N2, S6
Non-Transfer for Lo-group- V1 , V7, N5

These results, like those based on the Dominance Method of classification, indicate that the Hi- and Lo-proficiency writers are most similar in their use of transfer patterns and most dissimilar in their use of non-transfer patterns.

Findings and Conclusions

Results of the analysis of the variation in the oral and written use of non-GAE patterns indicated that subjects did vary in their oral and written production of non-GAE patterns and that the variation occurred in different forms. I found that:

1. there was a statistically significant difference between the number of non-GAE patterns produced in oral and written language;

2. non-GAE patterns varied according to modality -- three non-GAE patterns occurred only in the oral samples and three only in the written samples;

3. non-GAE patterns varied with respect to the relationship between percentages of usage in oral as compared to percentages of usage in written language, a relationship which served as the basis for distinguishing patterns most likely to be transferred from oral to written, transfer patterns, from patterns least likely to be transferred from oral to written language, non-transfer patterns -- seven transfer and 5 non-transfer patterns were identified based on the responses of the total group;

4. non-GAE patterns also differed with respect to their variable occurence with GAE patterns, resulting sometimes in a three-way variability in usage, GAE~IL~BAE, and other times in a two-way variability of usage with either GAE~IL or GAE~BAE.

The variance noted in the findings above can be categorized under three broad topics, each of which has been addressed by other investigators: variance according to (1) modality: Oral v. Written; (2) source of the non-GAE patterns in writing: Transfer v. Non-transfer patterns, and (3) the mixing of structures from different lects: GAE~IL vs. GAE~IL~BAE v. GAE~BAE. Each is discussed below with a view toward relating the findings here with findings of other studies.

Modality of Communication. The use of certain patterns in the oral but not written language might be explained in relation to the widely accepted view that written language is not simply spoken language written

down. Assuming that such information is a part of the learner's knowledge about writing, we might reasonably assume that even inexperienced writers attempt to differentiate language use by selectively editing certain oral language patterns out of their written language. A possible explanation for patterns occurring exclusively in the oral samples is that all subjects deemed these patterns inappropriate for use in written language. Two explanations for this type of "weeding-out" process occur in the work of others who have studied language variation: one has to do with the level of stigmatization of a given linguistic feature; the second has to do with the functional role that variable usage plays in distinguishing between rhetorical and communicative styles.

With regard to social stigmatization, Wolfram offers a matrix of socially stigmatized forms in Black American English (197). Among those patterns identified as highly stigmatized are two of the patterns that occurred only in the oral language samples of this study. They are copula absence, pattern V4, and double-subject constructions, pattern S5. One could argue that the subjects' awareness of the low prestige status of the two patterns stemmed partially from negative reactions to their use in oral language and partially from contact with usage rules found in textbooks. The former is likely to have its most profound effect on spoken language, and quite interestingly these two patterns were of low dominance status (-Dom Or) in the oral language. The latter, textbook prescription, is likely to have its greatest effect on written language, since textbooks usually direct students to avoid the use of such patterns in writing. Regardless of which has the strongest effect on the different modalities of communication, together they lend support to the view that social stigmatization of the patterns may have influenced their absence from the written language.

With regard to distinguishing between rhetorical styles, Richards proposes that in Nativized English communities (i.e. communities where English is used as a second language but where the variety of English used is not modeled after British or American English), speakers make use of grammatical features to mark "the shift from a rhetorical to a communicative style" (1979, p. 12). A rhetorical style, which is comparable to formal language, will be closer to the source language rhetorical norms than a communicative style, which is comparable to informal language. And of course, rhetorical styles in written language will be closer to the source language than will rhetorical styles in spoken language. In the same way that speakers use grammatical features to distinguish between rhetorical and communicative styles, they may use grammatical features to distinguish between spoken and written rhetorical styles. Within the context of this study, then, Richards' distinctions offer another explanation for the absence of certain features from the written language samples. It is important to note that the two explanations offered here may be viewed as supportive of each other. The social stigmatization of forms can be linked to external motivation for change while the style-shifting explanation can be linked to internal motivation for change.

When the patterns found in oral only are compared to patterns occurring in written only, one is immediately struck by the contrast between the two. As alluded to above, those patterns occurring only in the oral samples can be accounted for on the basis of editing, but what of the patterns used in written only? It makes no sense for a learner to edit patterns used in writing out of the spoken language when such patterns deviate from the rhetorical norms. What is interesting about the three patterns occurring in the written samples only is that all have more common Black American English

structures. Pattern V2, Have-Aux + Ved, occurs in a context for the simple past tense form; the most common BAE representation of simple past is Main-Verb + Ø. Pattern V10, Mod-Aux + Ved, fails to represent the BAE system at all, but the most common BAE pattern for modal-auxiliary would be the double modal construction. Incidentally, double modal construction did not occur in the data. Pattern S2, an expletive construction, would occur most commonly in BAE as an "it-expletive" rather than as a "there-expletive" construction. One way to account for the occurrence of these patterns in written language only is by positing them as patterns that are changed as a result of contact with written language. The subjects are learning the GAE rule in the context of writing tasks. To distinguish this process from that assigned to the patterns occurring in oral only, we might use the term "monitoring". Support for these editing and monitoring processes is found in other parts of the data and will be discussed more fully below. I am suggesting, then, that the exclusive use of patterns in either the oral or written modality is important, for each group of patterns, oral only v. written only, may be explained in terms of motivation for change, and each may be explained in terms of different response behaviors of the group, i.e. patterns occurring in oral only are being edited by the subjects, while those occurring in written only are being monitored by the subjects.

Sources of Non-GAE Patterns. Unlike the six patterns discussed above, most of the non-GAE patterns occurred in both oral and written language samples. The occurrence of these patterns in both oral and written language would seem at first to support the dialect-interference hypothesis, which claims that non-GAE patterns occur in writing because they are transferred from oral language to written language. As indicated in the third finding above, only seven of the non-GAE patterns could be attributed to influence from spoken language. Recall that two methods were used to classify patterns as either

transfer or non-transfer patterns and that only those patterns classified in the same way by both methods are referred to here. This means that the seven transfer patterns had higher or equal percentages of usage in both oral and written (the More-Less Classification Method) and the seven patterns shared dominance features (the Dominance Classification Method); the five non-transfer patterns had higher occurrences in written than in oral and mixed dominance features. Whiteman (1979) presented the More-Less Method for distinguishing between transfer and non-transfer patterns. In her discussion of the non-standard features in the speech and writing of White and Black students from southern Maryland, she treats some of the same non-GAE features as those found in this study. For noun-plural patterns, Whiteman reports that

> plural -s was found to be absent 13.1% of the time in the writing of the white students, even though it was found to be absent only 3.9% of the time in their speech. Clearly, the occurrence of this nonstandard feature in this group's writing cannot be attributed to influence from their speech patterns. (1979, p. 11)

She notes further that Black students showed 29.6% usage of noun-plural in their oral language and 26.9% in their written language. Based on Whiteman's guidelines for interpreting the data, the noun-plural pattern would be classified as a transfer pattern for the Black students but as a non-transfer pattern for White students. Using the Dominance Method of interpreting the data, the noun-plural pattern would have been designated as a transfer pattern for both groups, since both groups showed less than 50% usage in oral and written language. This shows that the two methods of classifying patterns can easily lead to different interpretations of the same data. Essentially, the two methods of interpretation resulted in different classifications of the noun-plural pattern in this study. The N1 pattern had 19% usage in oral and 33% usage in written language. The More-Less Method would classify pattern N1 as a non-transfer pattern, but the Dominance Method would classify pattern N1 as a transfer pattern. Thus,

the Dominance Method would suggest that the response of Black students in Whiteman's data is similar to that of the students in this study, that is, the noun-plural pattern would occur as a transfer pattern for Blacks in both studies. It should be noted, however, that the Dominance Method would further specify that the BAE noun-plural pattern has a low level of transferability, as indicated by the sharing of -Dom. features in oral and written modalities. Realizing the discrepancies between the methods, indeed different assumptions about what the relationships between usage in oral and written mean, I decided to use only the patterns that shared classification by both methods as the best representation of patterns most and least likely to be transferred from oral to written. By so doing, the conclusion reached here was similar to that reached by Whiteman,

> Thus we can see that dialect definitely influences writing, although it is not solely responsible for the occurrence of nonstandard features in writing. (1979. p. 20)

The findings of this study do not, however, support Whiteman's explanation of other factors that influence the occurrence of non-GAE features in writing. She explains that

> [dialect transfer] combines with an acquisitional tendency to omit inflectional suffixes, with several results. First, nonstandard features occur more frequently in the writing of those who use them in speech. Second, some nonstandard features occur much more frequently than others. For example, non-standard phonological features rarely occur in writing, even when these features are extremely frequent in the oral dialect of the writer. (1979, p. 20)

In Whiteman's statements, dialect influence is equivalent to what I have called dialect transfer and "acquisitional tendency" is closely related to what I have called non-transfer. Whiteman's explanation is not supported by findings in this study. There are as many inflectional endings in the seven patterns identified as transfer as in the five identified as non-transfer.

Under transfer patterns, we have pattern V13, with Ø inflection for verbal-adjectives (a determine person), and pattern N3 with Ø possessive in the gerund phrase (the purpose of Alex Haley talking to us). For these patterns, dialect seems to be influencing writing. In the non-transfer group, we have two patterns that show absence of inflections, pattern N2 with Ø possessive before a noun-phrase and N4 with Ø inflection for the objective pronoun. Furthermore, among those patterns that we would use to demonstrate that spoken dialect is not influencing writing, i.e. the non-transfer patterns, two show additions of extra inflectional endings rather than omissions of inflectional endings. See pattern V11 with an over-inflected verb in a modal-auxiliary verb phrase (will interpreted) and pattern V14 with an over-inflected verb in an infinitive phrase (his ambition to traced). One of the primary reasons that Whiteman's "Simplification" theory is not supported by this study is that one of the key characteristics of an acquisitional tendency came with the production of Intralectal patterns, patterns which do not represent a simplification of form though some might argue that over-generalization, as exemplified by patterns V11 and V14, is a simplification process. Based on the results of this study, Whiteman's explanation would need to be modified to read--Dialect transfer represents an acquisitional tendency and the acquisitional tendency combines with a learning tendency which results in a mixture of lects: patterns from two social dialects, GAE and BAE, and the learner's own idiosyncratic dialect.

Mixed Lects. Discussions of "mixed dialects" or dialect variation usually focus on the mixing of two social dialects. Corder (1974) makes a distinction between social dialects, which represent shared language rules of a social group, e.g. Black American English and General American English, and idiosyncratic dialects, which represent rules particular to an individual,

rules which are distinct from both the idiolect and the dialect. Such idiosyncratic patterns have been referred to in this study as intralectal patterns. The following five IL patterns were found in the data:

V10 Modals	Modal past + Ved	Then he would returned to the states to make information lucid.
V11 Modals	Modal pres + Ved	There Alex Haley asked many questions to the senior natives and his interpretors will interpreted what they answered.
V14 Infinitives	To + Ved	The only thing he cared about was his ambition to traced his family as far back as possible.
N5 Plural Nouns	Npl + s/Nsg + s	...the actual characters did a very fairly well job touching many peoples and reaching them.
S6 Subject-Verb Agreement	Sub sg + were	The book, Roots, wasn't an easy book to write because there were so many information to be obtained.

What is most interesting about the IL Patterns is that, had the students used the rules posited for BAE, they would have produced the target structure.

The verb patterns in V10, V11, and V14 suggest that the students were confused about the constraints on rules governing the presence and absence of the -ed suffix, and more specifically about the constraints governing the modal auxiliary pattern in verb phrases and the infinitive in verbal phrases. Discussions of modal auxiliaries in non-mainstream dialects have focused primarily on the use of double modals; obviously the double modal is not the problem here. In fact, there were no occurrences of double modal constructions in my data. The variable occurrence of -ed suffixes in BAE, a feature that might have some bearing on the problem, has been discussed by others; Fasold and Wolfram (1970) describe one of the favored environments for -ed absence thusly:

> The reduction rule operates only when both members of the cluster are either voiced or voiceless. Words like mind, cold, or rained (pronounced rānd) end in two voiced sounds, n and d. (p.

Even if one posited a strict phonological rule for all -ed presence and absence, the -ed suffix would have been deleted in the same sentences for patterns V10 and V14. In V10 we find that returned ends with two voiced consonants, the favored environment for deletion; in V14, we find that traced ends with two voiceless consonants /st/. In pattern V11 the -ed also occurs in a favored environment for deletion. In this case, a vowel following the bi-syllabic /Id/ is the favored environment for -ed presence. Neither of the three patterns can be accounted for on the basis of rules in BAE. Even if one resorts to the phonological rules used to account for presence or absence of the -ed suffix, the BAE phonological rules would have yielded -ed absence; the correct forms would have been generated, if not by the correct rules.

The lack of understanding of constraints governing the use of nouns is found in patterns N5 and S6. Like the three IL patterns above, pattern N5 would have corresponded to the target lect structures had the student followed the BAE rule. For BAE, the determiner many would mark plurality of the noun, resulting in Noun + Ø as the morphemic structure of the BAE noun. For example, in the construction, many peoples, the BAE rule would have yielded the target structure, as in many year and six year old, construction types found with some regularity in the data. In pattern S6, the construction, many information, represents confusion with selection restraints for determiner + noun constructions. That is, the determiner "many" cannot be followed by a non-count noun. However, the determiner + noun construction in sample S6 affected the form of the verb as well. Clearly the verb agrees with plurality as signalled by the determiner, but the lack of concord between determiner and noun resulted in an ungrammatical string by rules of both BAE and GAE. The BAE rule would have yielded "there was" regardless of whether the subject was singular or plural.

An important characteristic of the intralectal patterns described here is that they provide evidence that the learner is generating the patterns on the basis of rules other than those used in the two social class dialects. And even in cases where the rules of the native lect would permit the generation of surface structures that correspond to those of the target lect, they are not applied. The process, then, is neither one of simple feature-matching nor of morpheme deletion. If it were, the student could have used the BAE rule, which would have yielded the "correct" target structure, at least for the sample sentences above. The intralectal patterns suggest that the students were attempting to form new rules, and in fact, abandoning rules in the native lect that would have yielded the target structure. As with the patterns occurring in written only, this rule formation process will be referred to as monitoring.

Another important characteristic of the IL patterns is that they tend not to vary with BAE only. Instead, the IL patterns occur with GAE patterns, whether as IL~GAE or as GAE~IL~BAE. The implication here is that there is a developmental sequence in the variable usage of patterns from the three lects: BAE and GAE may vary first; second IL is added, yielding GAE~IL~BAE as in the noun-plural and subject-verb agreement pattern. Third, BAE is omitted leaving IL and GAE as variable features, as exemplified by rhw modal-auxiliary and verbal-infinitive patterns. Once the rule is learned, presumably the IL will be omitted leaving either GAE only or controlled usage of GAE and BAE patterns. The non-GAE patterns occurring in oral only may represent controlled use of BAE and GAE, controlled to serve a style-shifting purpose. The developmental sequence described above cannot be claimed for all non-GAE patterns, for the IL patterns occurred only in syntactic structures consisting of

modal-auxiliaries, verbal-infinitives, noun-plurals, and subject-verb agreement patterns. Where IL patterns did occur, we see evidence that their occurrence, that is the construction of idiosyncratic rules by the learner, is related to the structure of the target lect patterns, as suggested by Richards (1979) and that the role they play facilitates rather than interferes with the learning of a second dialect. However, this point was not investigated further here. What was investigated further was whether or not syntactic categories with the IL variable were being transferred from oral to written language.

With the exception of the noun-plural category, I found that the syntactic categories that had IL as a variable were not being transferred from oral to written. Certainly this tendency toward the non-transfer classification is to be expected. Since the IL patterns are not considered as part of the learner's acquired social dialect, IL would be least likely to have spoken language as a source. The exception to this general tendency, the noun-plural category, showed a clear transfer pattern in all three lects if one uses the Dominance Method of classifying patterns. Also with the noun-plural category, both the IL and BAE had low dominance status in both oral and written and the BAE had high dominance status in both oral and written. Evidently the noun-plural is slowly giving way to the GAE pattern. Unlike the non-transfer patterns, the change seems to be one of simultaneous change in both oral and written. For the non-transfer patterns the change seems to be initiated in the written and then transmitted to the oral. In addition to indicating that IL patterns may become a part of either a learner's spoken or written language system, findings in this study relevant to IL patterns suggest that IL patterns facilitate the learning change from one social dialect to another and that IL patterns aid in distinguishing between feature-matching and rule-learning processes.

Research questions two and three focused on written language, text-effectiveness and writer-proficiency. The analysis of data led to two major findings relevant to the effect of non-EAE patterns on text-effectiveness:

1. text-effectiveness scores differed significantly between original papers containing high numbers of Dialect Patterns (DP) and a matched set of revised papers; no significant difference was found between original and revised papers containing high numbers of Speech Code Errors (SC) and Print Code Errors (PC);

2. there were significant differences in text-effectiveness scores assigned to original papers containing high numbers of DP, SC and PC patterns. The differences may be represented as DP < PC < SC.

The conclusion drawn from these findings was that dialect patterns have a greater effect on text-effectiveness scores than patterns in the other non-EAE categories.

Based on analyses of differences in the uses of non-EAE patterns by Hi- and Lo-Proficiency writers, I found that:

3. Hi- and Lo-Proficiency writers differed quantitatively in the errors produced in two of the non-EAE categories, DP and PC, but the two groups were quite similar in the number of errors produced in the SC category;

4. Hi- and Lo-Proficiency writers differed in the type of dialect patterns used in writing; and

5. Hi- and Lo-Proficiency writers differed with respect to the sources of dialect patterns in writing.

Hence, the conclusion: Hi- and Lo-Proficiency writers differ both quantitatively and qualitatively in their use of non-EAE patterns.

The five findings above will be discussed under two broad sub-headings: the Development of Writing Competence and a Continuum of Linguistic Patterns.

Development of Writing Competence. If a written text consists of certain spoken language features, then the written text is likely to be perceived as ineffective. In the discussion of variance between patterns used in oral and written language, I suggested that the editing of dialect patterns

represents one mechanism for distinguishing between oral and written language. Editing was discussed, however, in relation to only one category of the non-EAE patterns that occurred in the written data, i.e. the dialect patterns. The writer must learn to edit other kinds of non-EAE structures as well. Findings relevant to text-effectiveness indicate, however, that dialect patterns are the most important of the non-EAE patterns for writers to learn to edit. Remember that papers revised for dialect errors received significantly higher text-effectiveness scores than the unrevised papers, whereas papers revised for speech code and print code errors did not receive significantly different scores from the unrevised papers. We cannot disregard the possibility that the dialect patterns are more susceptible to social evaluations than are speech code and print code errors. Their occurrence in written text might also eliminate one of the major devices for distinguishing between spoken and written language. One could argue that these two explanations are only superficially related to effective written communication; such an argument is directly related to what appears to be the next logical step in understanding how dialect patterns affect text-effectiveness. In essence, we need to know whether other characteristics of effective written text are missing from papers containing high numbers of dialect patterns (Scott, in progress). Such characteristics have recently been discussed by text analysis theorists and include areas such as organizational schemes and text cohesion devices; see Tierney and Mosenthal's review of text analysis models (1980).

The SC and PC errors may be considered as two other characteristics of text that must be differentiated in the move from spoken to written language. There may even be a developmental sequence in the kinds of errors that make for ineffective texts, as noted in finding two above. Text-effectiveness is influenced least by speech code errors and most by dialect patterns. The

question of developmental patterns in writing has been discussed a great deal in the context of relationships between speech and writing. Kroll (1981) identifies four phases of writing development: (1) Preparation, in which skills such as handwriting, punctuation and spelling are learned, (2) Consolidation of Oral and Written Language, in which written utterances rely heavily on spoken language, (3) Differentiation, in which oral and written language are distinguished, and (4) Integration, in which spoken language patterns are used selectively in writing. The non-EAE patterns examined in this study can be linked to Krall's first three stages: Stage One is exemplified by the print code errors, Stage Two by both the dialect patterns and the speech code errors, and Stage Three by the differentiating behaviors found in responses to the dialect patterns.

Since text-effectiveness scores improved as dialect patterns decreased and since text-effectiveness scores were higher for papers containing large numbers of speech code errors, it is logical to assume that differentiation begins to take place with dialect patterns before it takes place with speech code errors. This assumption is supported by findings relevant to Hi- and Lo-Proficiency writers.

The third research finding above indicates that Hi- and Lo-Proficiency writers were most similar in the number of speech code errors that they produced. Implicationally, the speech code errors are the last to be edited from the written language system. On the other hand, since the Hi-Proficiency writers produced fewer dialect patterns and fewer print code errors than the Lo-Proficiency writers, we can assume that these two types of non-EAE patterns are edited before the speech code errors.

Research findings four and five indicate that Hi- and Lo-Proficiency writers differ in their use of dialect patterns. The differences are such

that they provide additional support for the view that non-EAE patterns represent developmental stages in writing. Not only do students' responses to dialect patterns suggest developmental stages in writing, but students' responses also indicate that we may be dealing with a linguistic continuum that consists not of separate speaking and writing systems but of a single language system with Hi- and Lo-Proficiency writers controlling different sections of the continuum.

Continuum of Language Structures and Language Behaviors. Within a rather homogeneous group, we found a good deal of variation in the responses to dialect patterns by Hi- and Lo-Proficiency writers. Such variation immediately calls attention to the need for greater precision in assessing the written language competence of non-mainstream dialect speakers. Greater precision in describing students' use of dialect patterns in this study resulted from the data showing relationships between oral and written usage of dialect patterns. The use of similar data is most impractical for classroom use; consequently, it seemed imperative to consider ways that oral and written language data could be used to establish guidelines for designing more practical diagnostic instruments. I have used the Dominant Method of classifying patterns to arrive at a more precise description of the subjects' responses to dialect patterns. For example, I used dominance features to distinguish between patterns that had high and low levels of transferability. It is the greater precision offered by the Dominance Method that led me to consider the possibility of providing an implicational scale for the dialect patterns. As described by Bickerton (1971) and by Bailey (1973), an implicational scale permits the investigator to locate patterns on a continuum whereby the use of features assumes the use of others. One would hope that with enough research, an implicational scale, based on the usage of dialect

patterns in oral and written language, could serve as the basis for a diagnostic instrument that would be based only on written language. The discussion of findings four and five is based on interpretations derived from the Dominance Method of classifying patterns. The intent here is to explore ways in which an implicational scale which draws on oral and written responses to dialect patterns can be used to inform pedagogical decisions relevant to designing more precise diagnostic tools for assessing the writing competence of non-mainstream dialect speakers. The procedure is deemed as more important than the actual patterns, though I would expect for future research, similarly motivated, to lead to more accurate identification of the patterns.

Three important points about the scaling should be made. First, the linguistic continuum is based on the assumption that oral and written responses represent a single language system rather than two separate systems. In view of the recent suggestions that writing be considered as a second dialect, this assumption is likely to be questioned by proponents on the writing as a second dialect model. Nevertheless, the continuum proposed here assumes that both oral and written language represent the entire "formal" language repertoire of the group investigated and for this reason can be legitimately treated as a single language system (see Montgomery, 1981, for a discussion of writing as a second dialect). Second, the performance patterns of students with respect to the relationship between oral and written usage of dialect patterns gave rise to the identification of three different types of behaviors: transfer, in which the same patterns are used with similar dominance levels in both oral and written language, (2) monitoring, signalled by dominant usage of patterns in written and non-dominance in oral language, and (3) editing, signalled by dominant usage in oral and non-dominant usage in written language.

Third, differential responses by Hi- and Lo-Proficiency writers and variability in the combination of dominance features serve as the basis for ordering patterns on the language continuum. Following Bickerton (1971), the data in this study seem to be accounted for best in terms of a continuum of grammatical features with different members of the group controlling different sections of the continuum as part of their formal speech repertoires. The division into Hi- and Lo-Proficiency writers makes it possible to talk about the different groups in terms of their control of different dialect patterns. That is, we noted that the key characteristic that distinguished the two groups was their responses to dialect patterns.

Finding four indicated that Hi- and Lo-Proficiency writers differed in the type of dialect patterns used in writing; the most important difference was that the Hi-Proficiency writers simply did not use many of the dialect patterns in their writing. Indeed, when the oral and written usage of dialect patterns by the two groups was compared, we found that the high group also failed to use many of the dialect patterns in their oral language. In view of the feature matrix used in the Dominance Method, it was necessary to add another category Ø Or/Ø Wr. We now have features that range from Ø Or/Ø Wr to + Or/+ Wr. Since the patterns may be described on the basis of different combinations of features, we have a continuum of features that fits into four broader performance descriptors: controlling, editing, monitoring, and transferring. Table 16 presents the patterns according to the linguistic continuum being proposed here.

Table 16 - Feature Matrix of Hi- and Lo-Proficiency Group Use of Dialect Patterns

---

Table 16 shows that the two groups were responding differently to the patterns, but what was most striking was the consistency of the direction of their differences. Patterns in the controlled class for the high group (see Column A) were always in subsequent classes for the low group, and this continues such that editing for the high group meant either monitoring or transferring for the low group, and monitoring for the high group meant transferring for the low group. The ordering of patterns according to high and low group responses is supported by these results. A reasonable assumption, then, is that this ordering also represented levels of difficulty of the patterns.

By abstracting from Table 16 those patterns having the most similar response patterns for the two groups, I thought it would be possible to identify more precisely the relative difficulty of the patterns for both groups. I reasoned that patterns receiving the closest performance descriptors would be the most representative of difficulty for both groups. Taking only those patterns that differed by one descriptor, I identified the patterns that were responded to most similarly by the two groups. These patterns are presented in Table 17 and are offered here as a continuum of linguistic patterns in the form of an implicational scale.

Table 17 - Continuum of Dialect Patterns

As an Implicational Scale, the information in Table 17 suggests that patterns in the A class are most difficult for students to change; conversely, patterns in the D category are least difficult to change. As I envision the use of this information in assessing written language, the patterns in class A would imply that the writer might also use patterns in classes B, C, and D. Likewise, if the writer produces patterns such as those found in B, he/she would

also be likely to produce patterns in classes C and D, etc. This would mean, however, that if only the patterns in class D occur in the writing of a student, he/she would not produce patterns in either of the preceeding classes.

Although I am presenting the patterns more as a means of illustrating how the procedure might work than as absolute representations of levels of difficulty, it is interesting to note that patterns resulting from attempts to set up an implicational scale are defensible. For example, it makes sense that if the writer uses the perfect form of the verb for the simple past tense form, as in class D, that he/she might also use the Ø morpheme for simple past tense verbs, as in class C, and that he/she might also use the present tense form of irregular verbs for the simple past, as in class B. In short, the implicational scale would predict a linguistically acceptable order of difficulty for the use of the simple past tense verb forms. Moreover, the implicational scale would predict that pattern N2, Ø possessive before noun phrases is more difficult to learn than pattern N3, Ø possessive before gerund phrases. Again, the latter, which consists of a verbal, is considered syntactically more complex than the former.

Returning to the original conclusion about the differential use of dialect patterns by Hi- and Lo-Proficiency writers, I wish to point out that the conclusion itself is less important for planning writing instruction than the procedure proposed here for exploring the notion of a language continuum that treats both oral and written language as a single system. It would appear that further research, directed toward arriving at an implicational scale, would be highly beneficial to composition instructors. If indeed the dialect patterns can be appropriately scaled according to levels of difficulty, and if the scale is an implicational one, then it should be possible to use such information in designing more precise and more efficient diagnostic instrumentation.

Implications

In the discussion above, I have mentioned problems with the existing methods of analyzing data, alluded to limitations of the theories currently being used to account for dialect-interference in writing, and offered an empirically-based approach to assessing the writing competence of speakers of non-mainstream dialects. Implications for further research in each of the three areas above are considered below.

Research Methodologies. Perhaps no area of research has been subjected to greater criticisms than that which treats problems associated with dialect and the development of communication skills. Some of these criticisms were acknowledged in part I of this report. In an attempt to address the problem of eliciting data from two different speech styles, I collected oral and written data representative of a formal communication style. This method had one major disadvantage: it resulted, I think, in the collection of fewer samples of non-GAE patterns than would have been the case had I attempted to elicit informal oral language patterns. Results, however, pointed toward useful generalizations about the use of patterns in the rhetorical style. Certainly more descriptive research is needed on the usage of non-GAE patterns in formal language settings, since most of the descriptions of Black American English have been based on language use in informal settings. The results from this study indicate that even within the more formal rhetorical style, there was a great deal of variance between spoken and written language. Assuming that if students are transferring patterns from oral to written, they are more likely to transfer their most formal spoken style to writing, and in view of the fact that variance bwtween oral and written language can still be detected when formal spoken and formal written styles are elicited, this method of collecting data seems a useful one for investigating relationships between oral and written language.

A methodological problem revealed during the course of this investigation was that of classifying patterns as either transfer or non-transfer patterns. In examining the studies of dialect and writing, one cannot help noticing the absence of specific guidelines for detecting interference phenomena. Because the dialect interference theory makes a basic claim about the transfer of natively-acquired oral language patterns to written language, it is most critical that investigators begin to formalize their methods for determining whether patterns are or are not being transferred from oral to written language. Whiteman's guidelines for detecting interference phenomena were quite useful to this study, although the adequacy of some of her interpretations were questioned. For example, when higher percentages of usage in oral than written or equal percentages in both are used as an indication of transfer, one finds that some patterns have such a small range of differences between percentages of usage in oral and written data that the distinguishing classifications become suspect. A more general interpretation of the percentages of usage in oral and written was proposed here and utilized in some interesting applications, namely to illustrate the potential benefits of using implicational scales as the basis for describing a language system and for assessing dialect patterns in writing. The conclusion reached in this study and offered here for further research is that transfer and non-transfer patterns can be best distinguished on the basis of dominance features, where 50% usage or above represents dominant usage of a pattern and below 50% usage represents non-dominant usage of a pattern. In addition, I suggested that patterns which share dominance features in both oral and written language be classified as transfer patterns. My reasoning was that if the patterns are to be considered as transfer patterns, then the writer will literally transfer his/her spoken language usage to written language. If a pattern is seldom used in the spoken language, then it will seldom be used

in written; conversely, if a pattern is frequently used in spoken then it will frequently occur in written. Thus, transfer v. non-transfer was operationally defined as shared v. non-shared dominance features from oral to written language.

The Dominance Method of classifying patterns is considered as the most worthwhile contribution that this study could make to future linguistic research. It not only provided more precise descriptors of subjects' language performance, but it also provided useful guidelines for setting up an implicational scale. In turn, the implicational scale could be utilized for descriptive purposes, i.e. to describe a linguistic continuum for usage of dialect in rhetorical styles and to assess the written language of speakers of non-mainstream dialects.

Theory. The theory most directly addressed by this study is the dialect-interference theory. It is apparent, though, that theories about the relationship between spoken and written language are also important to our understanding of interference phenomena. The central point of the dialect-interference hypothesis is that spoken dialect patterns are transferred to written language in an uncontrollable way: the transfer is viewed as an intrusion, a limitation, an impediment to the learner's transition from use of one social dialect to the use of another social dialect. Specifically, I have suggested that the theory correctly accounts for some of the spoken dialect patterns that occur in writing, but incorrectly predicts that all writing patterns that contrast with GAE and that correspond to BAE can be attributed to spoken language. I have illustrated that in order for a theory to account more adequately for transfer from spoken to written language, attention must be given not just to the variable usage of GAE and BAE patterns, but also to the variable usage of GAE and IL patterns, as well as to the variable usage of GAE, IL and BAE patterns. Further, findings of this study provide evidence that not all non-target lect patterns (or non-GAE patterns)

play an intrusive role in the development of competence in a second dialect. The intralectal patterns, in particular, are more appropriately viewed as facilitating the learning of rules of a second dialect.

Finally, the contrastive-analysis approach to analyzing data, an approach derived from language-interference theories, has two major limitations that need to be addressed: (1) it fails to account for patterns other than those representing the two social class dialects, giving no consideration to idiosyncratic dialects, i.e. the intralectal patterns which were examined in this study; (2) it fails to consider non-EAE patterns other than those classed as dialect patterns, giving no consideration to speech code and print code errors and perhaps even encouraging the view that all are due to a learner's native dialect patterns. Thus, the main implication for dialect-interference theory that emerged directly from this study is that it needs to be re-examined with a view toward modifying the theory such that finer distinctions can be made among patterns that deviate from the norms of the target lect. We also need to look at the facilitative roles that non-target lect patterns play in the development of competence in a second dialect, so that areas of difficulty can be identified with greater precision and variables other than GAE and BAE, two social class dialects, can be considered.

Together, these implications point to two very crucial theoretical problems. As yet, we have no theory of second dialect learning. And, we have only recently begun to develop theories that account for the development of competence in written language.

With the newly developing theories on competence in written language has come investigations of relationships between spoken and written language, studies that are generally considered as separate from studies of dialect and writing. Findings of this study suggest that in order to better understand how non-mainstream dialect speakers develop competence in written

language, consideration needs to be given the question of whether the development of writing competence involves the same basic learning stages for speakers of mainstream and non-mainstream dialects. Since this study included for analysis some of the non-EAE patterns which have been identified as features that are carried over from "speech" to writing, it is possible here to offer for further research the view that dialect patterns in writing, like speech patterns in writing, must be explained in terms of phases of development, such as the four phases of development offered by Kroll: preparation, consolidation, differentiation, and integration (Kroll, 1981). Noting that of the three kinds of non-EAE patterns examined, Hi- and Lo-Proficiency writers were most similar in their production of speech code errors, I concluded that dialect patterns begin to move through the consolidation and differentiation phases before the speech code errors. The implication is that speakers of non-mainstream dialects may move through similar phases of development, but must do so with dialect patterns as well as with speech code errors. As the basis for further research, however, it seems necessary to begin our investigation with a more basic question.

How are dialect patterns to be differentiated from speech patterns? I mention this because in this study, one sub-class of speech code errors, the abbreviated semantics class which includes exophoric references and formulaic expressions, has been examined under the general rubric of dialect and writing. So it seems that we will need to begin by determining whether the dialect patterns and speech patterns are sufficiently different to warrant separate categorizations. And I think they do. Then, we can begin asking if or how speakers of non-mainstream and mainstream dialects differ in their development of competence in written language. Certainly such research will require that more attention be given to the role that syntactic constructions, both dialect and speech, play in expressing meaning in written

text. In other words, we can look to move beyond the concentration on form, which was the focus in this study, and toward the more important questions concerning what the forms intend to communicate, whether the writer's intentions were attained and whether the reader's expectations were reasonably fulfilled. In this regard, I agree with Collins:

> As teachers of writing, our approach to errors should not get in the way of our approach to meaning. By worrying about mistakes in writing before we have helped students with the more important problem of adequately representing meaning in writing, we may be teaching students to do the same. (1981, p. 202)

Collins' comments were directed toward errors described in this study as "abbreviated semantics." However, the same could be said to teachers about other errors examined in this study. This study contains other information that will be of interest to teachers as well.

Teaching. Hartwell, who opposes the dialect-interference hypothesis and rejects the validity of related pedagogies, argues that "all apparent dialect interference in writing is reading-related, reflecting partial mastery of the print-code" (1980, p. 113). The findings of this study do not support Hartwell's Print-Code Hypothesis, but suggest, as Hartwell does, that dialect-interference will not account for all non-EAE patterns in writing. Equally wrong, argues Hartwell, is the pedagogy that goes with the dialect-interference theory.

To some extent, findings in this study support Hartwell's claim about pedagogies. Rather than suggesting that the pedagogies are completely wrong, the data suggest that the pedagogical guidelines are too limited in their focus. Following the guidelines established in the contrastive-analysis approach to second language teaching, instructional guidelines for teaching non-mainstream dialect speakers have been based on contrasts between two social dialects. Assuming, as did Lado, that "those elements that are similar

to his (the learner's) native language will be simple for him, and those elements that are different will be difficult" (1957, p. 2), program designers expected for contrastive patterns in the two language systems "to highlight and predict the difficulties of the pupils" (Politzer, 1975, p. 2). In these guidelines for instruction, there is obviously no place for the idiosyncratic patterns that are produced by the learner. Findings of this study suggest that the idiosyncratic patterns provide specific information about rules in the target lect that are not understood by the learner; consequently, the failure to consider intralectal patterns in establishing guidelines for language instruction limits the instruction to a focus on contrast between the surface forms represented by the two social dialects. For Black students, this means contrasts between General American English and Black American English.

A second limitation of the contrastive approach, which is implied by findings of this study, is that the IL patterns provide evidence that the learner is attempting to form rules about patterns in the target lect. However, the contrastive analysis approach has encouraged the use of structure-oriented rather than rule-oriented language instruction. The IL patterns found in this study imply that more attention needs to be given to the kinds of patterns that receive attention in the classroom. For example, the modal auxiliary patterns that occurred as non-target lect patterns did not indicate the need for instruction based on the use of double-modals, a construction that receives a good deal of attention whether one uses traditional language instruction for writers or whether one attempts to use a contrastive approach. Rather, the modal-auxiliary patterns that occurred in the data indicated that the students were confused about constraints governing the use of -ed suffixes in verb phrases that contain modal auxiliaries.

In addition, more attention needs to be given to the manner in which rules are explained to non-native speakers of the target lect. For example,

the familiar rule, "a singular subject takes a singular verb" is difficult to apply since it erroneously implies that the -s morpheme marks plurality for both nouns and verbs. One could argue that the rule sounds more like a subject-verb disagreement rule than a subject-verb agreement rule. Unless the learner knows the rule implicitly, as one would expect of speakers of mainstream dialects, the rule as expressed above is difficult to learn and even more difficult to apply. The distinction between implicit and explicit access to rules should be taken into consideration in planning language instruction. Since it has also been suggested that the way in which rules are taught influences the formulation of idiosyncratic rules by learners (Richards, 1974), and since the intralectal patterns are viewed here as idiosyncratic, there is clearly a need for instructional guidelines that consider the possible influence of language instruction in general and of explanations of rules in particular on the formation of idiosyncratic rules.

Thus, the contrastive approach to language instruction is limited in three ways. First, intralectal patterns are not included among the patterns used to predict difficulties of the learners. Second, the approach encourages the use of language instruction that emphasizes the matching of surface features rather than the learning of rules and that treats language learning as an imitative rather than a generative process. Third, the contrastive approach fails to offer a different approach to teaching. The new pedagogical guidelines have yielded a pedagogy that is quantitatively but not qualitatively different from the old. Much too often, the new pedagogy means that a new category of errors is added to the writing diagnostic worksheet and more drill sheets are added to an already cumbersome "learning packet." One would hope for more. The research discussed here will hopefully lead to new questions about the whole notion of dialect-interference phenomena, but this time

with a focus on helping students to control the rules of two social dialects and with the recognition that "error," as exemplified by non-GAE patterns in this work, may play a facilitative rather than an intrusive role in the development of a bi-dialectal language system.

References

Bailey, C. J. The patterning of language variation. In R. Bailey & J. Robinson (Eds.), Varieties of present day English. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1973.

Bernstein, B. A sociolinguistic approach to socialization: With some reference to educability. In F. Williams (Ed.), Language and poverty. Chicago: Markham Pub. Co., 1970.

Bickerton, D. On the nature of a creole continuum.

Collins, J. L. Speaking, writing, and teaching for meaning. In B. Kroll & R. Vann (Eds.), Exploring speaking-writing relationships: Connections and conrasts. Urbana, Ill.: NCTE, 1981.

Collins, J. L., & Williamson, M. M. Spoken language and semantic abbreviation in writing. Research in the Teaching of English, 1981, 1, 23-35.

Corder, S. P. Idiosyncratic dialects and error analysis. in J. Richards (Ed.), Error analysis: Perspectives on second language acquisition. London: Longman Group Limited, 1974.

Daiute, C. A. Psycholinguistic foundations of the writing process. Research in the Teaching of English, 1981, 1, 5-22.

Fasold, R. W. Tense markings in Black English: A linguistic and social analysis. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1972.

Hartwell, P. Dialect interference in writing: A critical view. Research in the Teaching of English, 1980, 2, 101-118.

Hull, C. H., & Nie, N. H. SPSS update. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1979.

Joiner, C. Memorandum opinion and order. (Martin Luther King Jr. Elementary School Children v. Ann Arbor School District Board) U.S. District Court Eastern District of Michigan Southern Division, July, 1979.

Kroll, B. M. Developmental relationships between speaking and writing. In B. Kroll and R. Vann (Eds.), Exploring speaking-writing relationships: Connections and contrasts. Urbana, Ill.: NCTE, 1981.

Labov, W. Language in the inner city. Philadelphia: Univ. of Penn. Press, 1972.

Labov, W. Sociolinguistic patterns. Philadelphia: The Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1972.

Labov, W., Cohen, P., Robins, C., & Lewis, J. A study of the non-standard English of Negro and Puerto Rican speakers in New York City, Volume I: Phonological and grammatical analysis. (Final Report, U. S. Office of Education Cooperative Research Project No. 3288), 1968.

Lado, R. Linguistics across cultures. Ann Arbor, Mich.: The University of Michigan Press, 1957.

Montgomery, M. Writing as a second dialect. (Paper presented at the 1981 Southeastern Conference on Linguistics).

Politzer, R. Toward psycholinguistic models of language instruction. TESOL Quarterly, 2, 3, 1967.

Richards, J. A non-contrastive approach to error-analysis. English Language Teaching, 1971, 25, 204-219.

Richards, J. Rhetorical and communicative styles in the new varieties of English. Language Learning, 1979, 29, 1, 1-23.

Sternglass, M. Close similarities in dialect features of Black and White college students in remedial composition classes. TESOL Quarterly, 1974, 8 271-283.

Siegel, S. Nonparametric statistics for the behavioral sciences. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1956.

Smitherman, G. A comparison of the oral and written styles of a group of inner-city Black students. (Doctoral dissertation, Univ. of Michigan, 1969). Dissertation Abstracts International, 1970, 31, 747A. (University Microfilms No. 70-14645).

Straker, D. Y. Situational variables in language use (Technical Report No. 167). Univ. of Ill. at Urbana-Champaign: Center for the Study of Reading, April, 1980. (US-NIE-C-400-76-0116).

Tierney, R. & Mosenthal, J. Discourse comprehension and production: Analyzing text structure and cohesion (Technical Report No. 152). Univ. of Ill. at Urbana-Champaign: Center for the Study of Reading, January, 1980 (US-NIE-C-400076-0116).

Whiteman, M. Dialect influence and the writing of Black and White working class Americans. (Doctoral dissertation, Georgetown University, 1976). Dissertation Abstracts International, 1976, 37, 3595A. (University Microfilms No. 76-28885).

TABLE 1
Number of Dialect Patterns:
Black American English (BAE) and Intralectal (IL)
In Written Samples*

Sample Number	Total Dialect	=	(# of BE	+	# of IL)
33	13		12		1
34	11		9		2
17	7		7		0
16	8		6		2
19	7		6		1
12	6		5		1
23	5		4		1
24	5		5		0
39	5		5		0
13	4		3		1
32	4		4		0
36	3		2		1
3	3		1		2
5	2		2		0
10	2		1		1
14	2		1		1
15	2		2		0
18	2		2		0
25	2		2		0
26	2		2		0
31	2		2		0
37	2		2		0
4	1		1		0
6	1		0		1
20	1		1		0
28	1		1		0
30	1		1		0
40	1		1		0
1	0		0		0
2	0		0		0
7	0		0		0
8	0		0		0
9	0		0		0
11	0		0		0
21	0		0		0
22	0		0		0
27	0		0		0
29	0		0		0
35	0		0		0
38	0		0		0

*Ranked according to the total number of dialect patterns.

TABLE 2
Samples of Speech Code Error Patterns

Expanded Syntax	
Fragments:	"Also it was said his grandmother who was on the wagon, Cynthia."
Double Function Constituents:	"Alex took two translators with he in asking questions he tried to dig deapper in to their fo fathers."
Split Sentences:	"He did this by stripping to his underwear sleeping in the dark, cold air, but he knew it wasn't even half as bad as to what Kunta went through."
Non-distinct Modifiers:	"He was in the bottom of the ship stripped to the underwear."
Non-parallel Constituents:	"Then he would return to the states for study and to make information lucid."
Gapped Sentences:	"Alex traveled to jeffrus Ghambi and there were usually two interpetus Alex usually ___ them many questions."
Repetitious Sequences:	"Root was based on the back grounds of Kuta Kenta when he was taken from Africa at the age of 16 years of age."
Abbreviated Semantics	
Exophoric Pronouns:	"Alex Haley is the descendant of Kunta Kinte whom thay capture and put into slaverly by whites from America."
Exophoric Demonstratives:	"From this Passage I find that it began in 1750 the time that in which Kunta Kinte was captured at age sixteen."
Formulaic Expressions:	"From how he put it, we gather he had papers in every corner of his house."
	"The writer didn't beat around the bush."

TABLE 3
Number of Non-GAE Patterns in Written Samples
Dialect Patterns (DP), Speech Code Errors (SC), Print Code Errors (PC)
In Written Samples

Sample Number	DP	SC	PC
33	13*	5	22*
34	11*	4	10*
16	8*	7	16*
17	7*	2	14*
19	7*	2	6
12	6*	2	7
23	5*	2	18*
24	5*	2	11*
39	5*	1	8
32	4*	2	8
13	3*	2	8
36	3*	4	8
3	3*	2	8
5	2	7*	6
0	2	6*	8
14	2	2	9*
15	2	2	6
18	2	4*	18*
25	2	7*	8
26	2	2	9*
31	2	2	12*
37	2	2	15*
4	1	4*	3
6	1	3*	3
20	1	0	5
28	1	6*	4
30	1	2	8
40	1	5*	8
1	0	1	9*
2	0	2	4
7	0	2	7
8	0	2	4
9	0	7*	12*
11	0	4*	4
21	0	0	5
22	0	0	1
27	0	6*	7
29	0	0	5
35	0	0	6
38	0	1	20*

* Revised Papers

TABLE 4
Non-GAE Patterns and Samples

Main Verb-Past	V1	Ø ed (regular verbs)	First of all he travel_ to Gambia where he talk_ to many elderly Black Africans.
	V2	Had + V-ed	Alex had went back to Juffure, in West Africa.
	V3	Ø Past (irregular verbs)	He begin by asking these ancestors questions about Africa.
	V4	Ø Copula	The most touching thi.. in the passage -- where he tried to figure out the anguish of his great grandaddy by... (Or)
	V5	V + V (paratactic verbs)	Alex Haley would go ask - uh - go to London... (Or)
	V6	Ø + V + Perf	There he asked the elderly people about what their father's ___ told them when they were boys.
Have-Aux	V7	Had + V + Ø	He learned about Kunta Kinte and how he had live_ in Africar until he was sixteen.
	V8	Had + V + Past	He also went to London to collect information from documents missionaries had wrote.
	V9	Have + V + Past	Roots by Alex Haley has showed all Afro-American people, what kind...
Modal Aux	*V10	Modal-Past + V-ed	Then he would returned to the states to make information lucid.
	*V11	Modal-Pres + V-ed	...and his interpretors will interpreted what they answered.
Passive	V12	Be-Past + V-Ø	I think Haley would be please_ to know that others are interested.
Verbal-Aj	V13	Verbal-Ø	Alex Haley being a determine_ person wanted to find out...
Infinitive	*V14	To + V-ed	The only thing he cared about was his ambition to traced his family.
	V15	Verb Forms	He done a lot of research.
N-Pl	N1	Ø Plural	Mr. Haley knew that many volume_ of book_ could be written about our saga.
Noun-Poss	N2	Ø Poss/Noun Phrase	_ Alex Haley _ research then comes to America...
	N3	Ø Poss/Gerund Phrase	The purpose of Alex Haley_ talkin to us about this passage is to let us know...
Pronoun-Case	N4	Pronoun-Ø Objective Case	...who they asked many questions.
N-Plural	*N5	Noun-Plural (overinflected)	The actual characters did a very fairly well job touching many peoples...
Subj-V Ag	S1	Subj-Pl + was	These notebooks was thick.
	S2	There was + Subj Pl	There was 139 men on the slave ship.
Inverted Q	S3	Aux/Verb + Subj	Alex Haley wanted to feel what was it like for Kunta Kinte when...
Existential	S4	It is	...it's a lotta material that comes from Africa...
Double Subj	S5	Subj + Pro	And so Alex Haley, he did have a little data, and so... (Or)
Modifier	*S6	Subj-Sg + V (overinflected)	...there were so many information to be obtained.
	M1	Double Comparative	...but he said they were probably treated more badly... (Or)
	M2	Stem + Ø/Adj and Adv	He gained information from mostly the elder__ people of the tribe.
Preposition	P1		At the trip, he made a booklet of many different sequences in Kunta Kinte's life.
Article	A1	"a" for "an"	This story is about a Black man who had a_ overwhelming curiosity about...

TABLE 5
Number of Non-GAE Patterns
In Oral and Written Samples

Patterns		Oral	Written	Total
Verb-Past	V1	29	17	46
	V2	0	2	2
	V3	10	6	16
Copula	V4	2	0	2
Paratactic Verbs	V5	2	2	4
Have Auxiliary	V6	2	2	4
	V7	1	2	3
	V8	3	1	4
	V9	3	1	4
Modal Auxiliary	V10	0	3	3
	V11	1	2	3
Passive	V12	4	4	8
Verbal Adjective	V13	1	5	6
Infinitive	V14	1	1	2
Verb Form	V15	4	4	8
TOTAL VERBS:		63	52	115
Noun-Plural	N1	6	21	27
Noun-Possessive	N2	9	5	14
	N3	4	1	5
Pronoun Case	N4	5	2	7
Noun-Plural (Overinfl)	N5	3	5	8
TOTAL NOUN-INFLECTION:		27	34	61
Subject-Verb Agreement	S1	5	4	9
	S2	0	3	3
Question Inversion	S3	4	3	7
Existential-It	S4	2	3	5
Double Subject	S5	6	0	6
Subject-Verb (Overinfl)	S6	6	2	8
TOTAL SYNTAX:		23	15	38
Double Comparative	M1	1	1	2
Derived Adjective, Adverb	M2	4	0	4
Preposition	P1	4	2	6
Article	A1	3	1	4
TOTAL MODIFIERS:		12	4	16
TOTAL NON-GAE PATTERNS:		125	105	230

TABLE 6
Non-General American English (Non-GAE) Patterns

Oral Only	Or & Wr	Written Only
	V1	
		V2
	V3	
V4		
	V5	
	V6	
	V7	
	V8	
	V9	
		V10
	V11	
	V12	
	V13	
	V14	
	V15	
	N1	
	N2	
	N3	
	N4	
	N5	
	S1	
		S2
	S3	
	S4	
S5		
	S6	
	M1	
M2		
	P1	
	A1	

Table 7
Results of Friedman Two-Way ANOVA

	Mean Ranks				
	Oral	Written	Chi Square	df	Significance
VERBS	1.60	1.40	1.400	1	.237
NOUNS	1.47	1.53	0.114	1	.735
SYNTAX	1.59	1.41	1.029	1	.310
ALL OTHER	1.53	1.47	0.114	1	.735
TOTAL ERRORS	1.71	1.29	6.429	1	*.011

TABLE 8

Oral and Written Usage of Non-GAE Patterns for Total Group

A) Oral only		B)	Or =	Wr	C)	Or	Wr	D)	Or	Wr	E) Written only		
V4	25%	V5	100%	100%	V7	50%	40%	V1	3[illegible]	49%	V2	___	18%
S5	43	N3	100	100	V13	100	56	V3	28	40	V10	___	50
M2	100	M1	100	100	S1	100	36	V6	67	100	S2	___	100
					S3	100	60	V8	50	100			
					S4	100	60	V9	75	100			
					S6	55	29	V11	17	67			
					P1	100	67	V12	67	80			
								V14	20	100			
								V15	33	50			
								N1	19	33			
								N2	43	50			
								N4	45	67			
								N5	33	38			
								A1	75	100			

TABLE 9

Dominant vs. Non-Dominant Usage of Non-GAE Patterns for Total Group

A) +Dom Or/+Dom Wr	B) -Dom Or/-Dom Wr	C) -Dom Or/+Dom Wr	D) +Dom Or/-Dom Wr
'V5	V1	'V11	V7
V6	V3	'V14	
V8		'V15	
V9			
V12			
'V13			
'N3	N1	'N2	
'S3	N5	'N4	
'S4			S1
'M1			S6
'P1			
A1			

___	V2	V4	___
M2	___	___	V10
		___	S2
		S5	___

TABLE 10
Transfer vs. Non-Transfer Patterns of the IL Group

Transfer						Non-Transfer					
	%age			± Dom			%age			±	
	Or	Wr		Or	Wr		Or	Wr		Or	Wr
V6	100%	100%	V6	+	+	V1	26%	58%	V1	-	+
V8	100	100	V8	+	+	V11	17	67	V11	-	+
V15	27	20	V15	-	-	V14	20	100	V14	-	+
						V9	75	100			
N2	71	50	N2	+	+	N1	31	41			
N4	100	100	N4	+	+	N5	7	38			
M1	100	100	M1	+	+						
P1	100	100	P1	+	+						
V13	100	40							V13	+	-
S1	100	22							S1	+	-
S6	57	33	V9	+	+				s6	+	-
			N1	-	-						
			N5	-	-						

Figure 1
Variable Usage of Non-GAE Patterns by IL Group

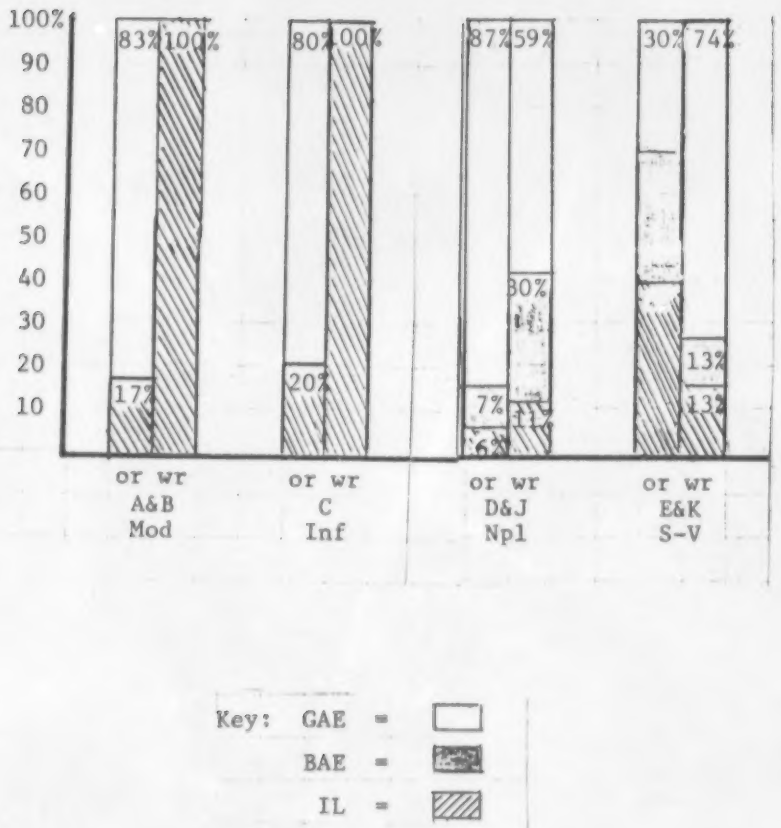


TABLE 11
Text-Effectiveness Scores for 78 Writing Samples

Sample	Original	Revised DP	Revised SC	Revised PC
23	1.9	2.5	—	2.1
17	1.8	2.0	—	1.7
34	1.7	1.8	—	1.9
24	1.6	2.4	—	2.2
16	1.4	1.2	—	1.5
33	1.1	1.4	—	1.7
3	2.7	2.9	—	—
36	1.6	1.5	—	—
12	1.4	1.9	—	—
32	1.2	1.0	—	—
19	1.0	1.4	—	—
39	1.0	1.4	—	—
9	4.2	—	3.6	4.0
18	3.0	—	2.4	3.5
4	4.4	—	4.9	—
10	3.9	—	3.6	—
28	3.7	—	4.1	—
11	2.8	—	3.2	—
27	2.7	—	3.2	—
25	2.5	—	2.9	—
5	2.4	—	3.0	—
6	2.1	—	2.8	—
40	1.3	—	1.5	—
1	4.5	—	—	4.2
37	2.6	—	—	3.0
38	2.5	—	—	2.5
14	2.0	—	—	2.2
31	1.5	—	—	1.8
26	1.4	—	—	1.9
35	4.1	—	—	—
2	3.7	—	—	—
20	3.6	—	—	—
29	3.3	—	—	—
21	3.2	—	—	—
30	3.0	—	—	—
22	2.7	—	—	—
7	2.6	—	—	—
13	2.4	—	—	—
15	2.2	—	—	—
8	2.1	—	—	—

TABLE 12
Matrix of Pairs of F-Values
From an Analysis of Variance of Text Effectiveness Scores
Between Original and Revised Papers

	A	B	C	D	E	F
A		.002	.002	.058	----	----
B			.002	----	.206	----
C				----	----	.206
D					.002	.002
E						.002
F						

KEY TO PAIRS :

Original Papers			Revised Papers		
DP	SC	PC	DP	SC	PC
A	B	C	D	E	F

TABLE 13
Text-Effectiveness Scores of Hi- and Lo-Proficiency Writers

T-E Score	Sample	# of DP's	# of SC's	# of PC's	
4.5	1	0	1	9	
4.4	4	1	4	3	
4.2	9	0	7	12	
4.1	35	0	0	6	
3.9	10	2	6	8	
3.7	2	0	2	4	
3.7	28	1	6	4	
3.6	20	1	0	5	
3.3	29	0	0	5	
3.2	21	0	0	5	
3.0	18	2	4	18	
3.0	30	1	2	8	
2.8	11	0	4	4	
2.7	3	3	2	8	
2.7	22	0	0	1	
2.7	27	0	6	7	
2.6	7	0	2	7	
2.6	37	2	2	15	
2.5	25	2	7	8	
2.5	38	0	1	20	
	Total	15	56	157	= 228
2.4	5	2	7	6	
2.4	13	4	2	8	
2.2	15	2	2	6	
2.1	6	1	3	3	
2.1	8	0	2	4	
2.0	14	2	2	9	
1.9	23	5	2	18	
1.8	17	7	2	14	
1.7	34	11	4	10	
1.6	24	5	2	11	
1.6	36	3	4	8	
1.5	31	2	2	12	
1.4	12	6	2	7	
1.4	16	8	7	16	
1.4	26	2	2	9	
1.3	40	1	5	8	
1.2	32	4	2	8	
1.1	33	13	5	22	
1.0	19	7	2	6	
1.0	39	5	1	8	
	Total	90	60	193	= 343

TABLE 14
Dialect Patterns in Written Compositions of Hi- and Lo-Proficiency Writers

Hi- and Lo-Group	Hi-Group Only	Lo-Group Only
V1	V2	V8
V5	V3	
*V10	V6	
*V11	V9	
V15	V12	
	V13	
	*V14	
N1	N3	
N2	N4	
	*N5	
S1	S2	
S3	S4	
*S6		
P1	M1	
	A1	

TABLE 15
Transfer vs. Non-Transfer Patterns for Hi and Lo-Proficiency Writers

	Hi-Group				Lo-Group			
	%age		±Dom		%age		±Dom	
DP	Or	Wr	Or	Wr	Or	Wr	Or	Wr
V4	0	0	Ø	Ø	25	0	-	Ø
V2	0	0	Ø	Ø	0	18	Ø	-
S2	0	0	Ø	Ø	0	100	Ø	+
V7	0	0	Ø	Ø	25	50	-	+
N4	0	0	Ø	Ø	50	100	+	+
V12	0	0	Ø	Ø	66	80	+	+
V9	0	0	Ø	Ø	75	100	+	+
V13	0	0	Ø	Ø	100	55	+	+
S4	0	0	Ø	Ø	100	60	+	+
M1	0	0	Ø	Ø	100	100	+	+
M2	100	0	+	Ø	100	0	+	Ø
S1	100	0	+	Ø	100	36	+	-
A1	100	0	+	Ø	66	100	+	+
N3	100	0	+	Ø	62	100	+	+
V6	66	0	+	Ø	50	60	+	+
S5	57	0	+	Ø	28	0	-	Ø
V3	23	0	-	Ø	30	40	-	-
*V14	20	0	-	Ø	0	100	Ø	+
*V11	17	0	-	Ø	0	50	Ø	+
*N5	8	0	-	Ø	7	50	-	+
*V10	0	50	Ø	+	0	50	Ø	+
*S6	37	50	-	+	100	50	+	+
N2	44	100	-	+	33	44	-	-
V1	23	25	-	-	40	55	-	+
N1	28	15	-	-	12	36	-	-
V5	50	100	+	+	0	100	Ø	+
V8	100	100	+	+	100	0	+	Ø
V15	100	100	+	+	27	43	-	-
S3	100	67	+	+	100	50	+	+
P1	100	50	+	+	100	100	+	+

Table 16
Feature Matrix of Hi- and Lo-Proficiency Group Use of Dialect Patterns

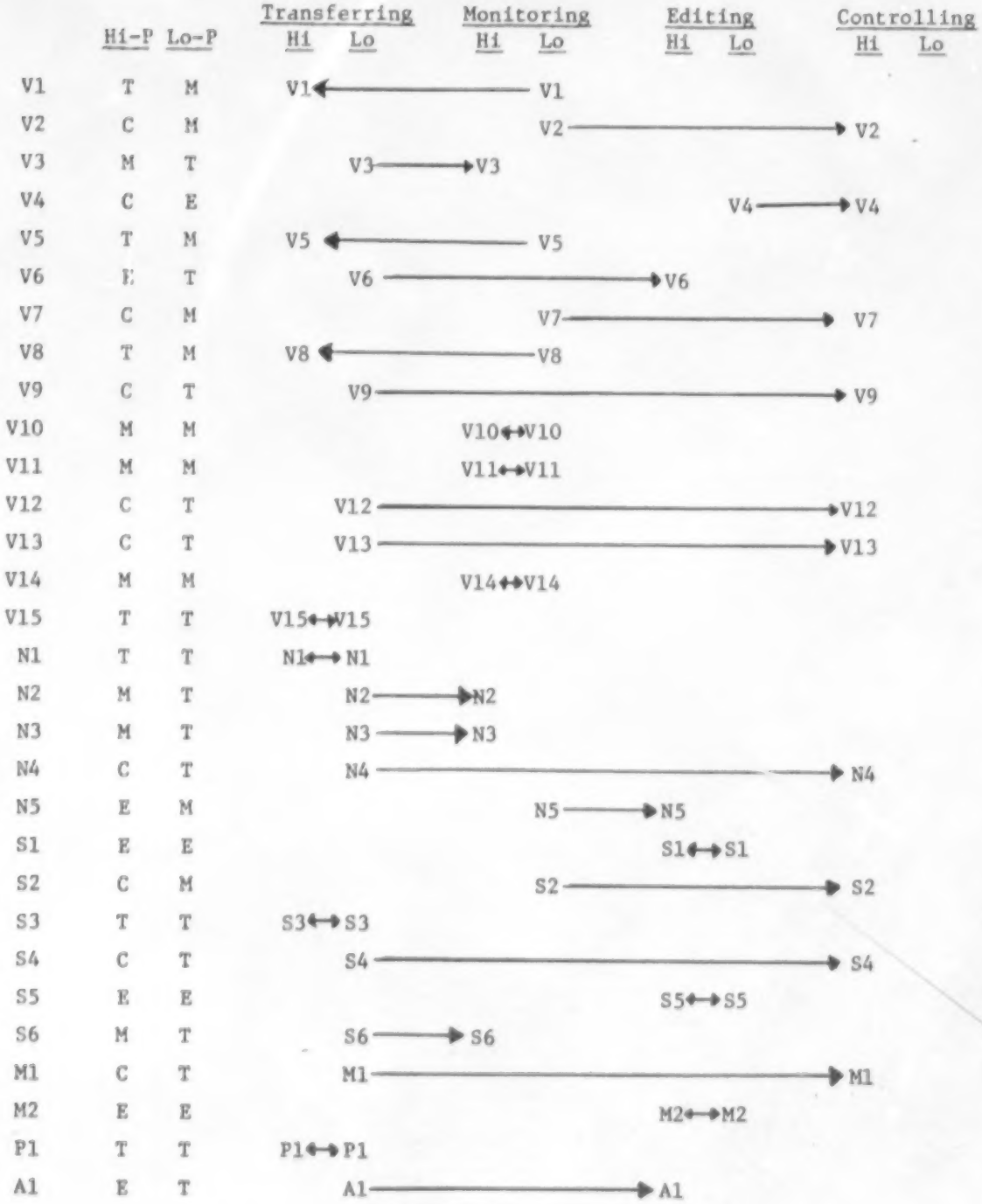
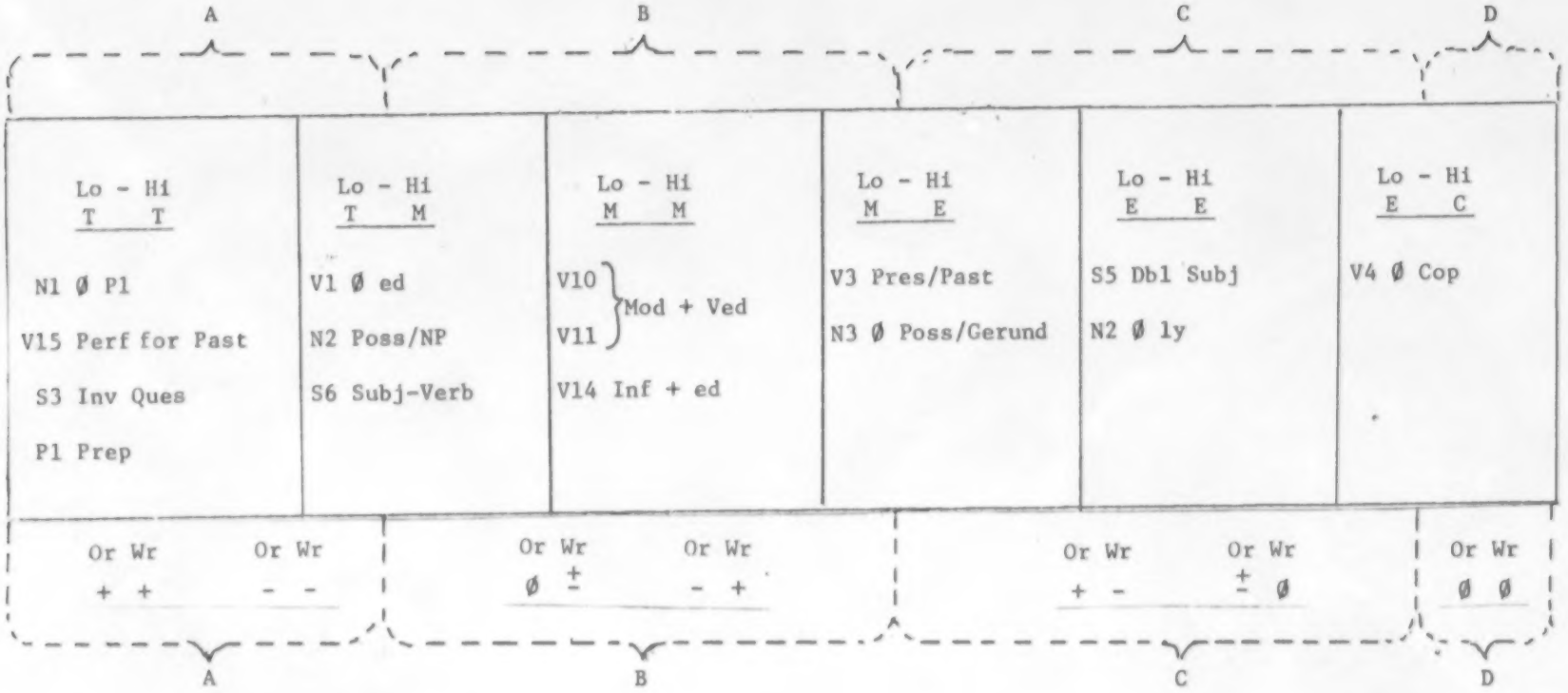

Transferring
Monitoring
Editing
Controlling
Hi-P
Lo-P
Hi
Lo
V1 T M V1 V1
V2 C M V2 V2
V3 M T V3 V3
V4 C E V4 V4
V5 T M V5 V5
V6 T T V6 V6
V7 C M V7 V7
V8 T M V8 V8
V9 C T V9 V9
V10 M M V10 V10
V11 M M V11 V11
V12 C T V12 V12
V13 C T V13 V13
V14 M M V14 V14
V15 T T V15 V15
N1 T T N1 N1
N2 M T N2 N2
N3 M T N3 N3
N4 C T N4 N4
N5 E M N5 N5
S1 E E S1 S1
S2 C M S2 S2
S3 T T S3 S3
S4 C T S4 S4
S5 E E S5 S5
S6 M T S6 S6
M1 C T M1 M1
M2 E E M2 M2
P1 T T P1 P1
A1 E T A1 A1

Table 17
Continuum of Dialect Patterns



T = Transferring
M = Monitoring
E = Editing
C = Controlling

Appendix A
Definition of Terms

Abbreviated Syntax - Patterns for which meaning is under-represented in the surface structure; used in this study to refer to the use of personal and demonstrative pronouns and to formulaic expressions that do not fully represent meaning.

Black English (BE) - Phonological, morphological and syntactic patterns that systematically occur in the spoken language of Black people. Black English is used here to refer only to the structural features of the language.

Dialect Patterns (DP) - Patterns containing both specific structural features, e.g. Black English patterns, and basic structural types, e.g. intralectal patterns, that have variable representations in different speech varieties--including regional, social and ethnic dialects as well as accented speech.

Edited American English (EAE) - Refers literally to patterns that are so constructed that the rules used in editing written English are not violated. Many of the features of non-mainstream dialects, speech code errors, and print code errors represent violations of rules used in editing written English.

Expanded Syntax - Patterns represented in connected speech by the combining of perceptual clauses. The surface structure of errored sentences in this category under-represent meaning and are therefore a sub-category of the speech code error patterns.

Intralectal Patterns - Basic structural types (or frames) that have variant representations across dialects but their surface forms do not correspond with the more stable features of any particular dialect of English.

Non-Edited American English Patterns (Non-EAE) - A broad category used to refer to language units containing forms that conflict with rules used to edit written English--includes dialect patterns, speech code errors, and print code errors.

Print Code Errors - Signalling devices that code written information inaccurately, e.g. an apostrophe used to code plurality, or misspelled words.

Speech Code Errors - Patterns used quite frequently in spoken language, regardless of dialect, but when used in written language violate rules for editing written language, e.g. incomplete sentences and repeated units of speech.

Appendix B
Personal Data Form

BACKGROUND

1. Where did you attend elementary school?

_____
City State

2. Where did you attend high school?

_____
City State

3. What writing courses did you take in high school?

_____

_____

_____

4. What writing courses did you take in college?

_____

_____

DIRECTIONS

In the passage below Alex Haley tells of his experiences writing the book Roots.

1. Read the passage silently while listening to the tape.

2. Summarize the passage orally. Record your oral response on the tape recorder provided.

3. Summarize the passage in writing. Write the summary on the paper provided.

APPENDIX C
Coded Sample, Oral

Paper 17 Or, S3

In writing this book it takes, um, architectural structure and actual process in beginnin' the book. Alex Haley went , found that Kunta Kinte was born in Jeffra in The Gambia in Wes' Africa. There he ax V1 elder M2 people and what S3 did their fathers tell them about them M3 bein' as boys? Alex Haley then took a trip to London where he research V1 African culture and um he then ...When Alex Haley went ta Jeffro, Gambia or whatever and , West Africa, he took two speakers that could interpret what the Africans were sayin'. Alex Haley found out that um, Kuta Kinte was captured at the age of 16. There Alex Haley start V1 makin' a notebook , 16 notebooks starting at the age of one, two, and so on. Then the notebooks was S1 laid down on flat surfaces, shelves, tables, and the notebooks was S1 coverin' square foot of the floor. There was only enough room for a walking passage. Alex Haley went back to the seventh generation where it started with Kunta Kinte , then Kizzy and Fiddler and Chicken George. Kunta Kinte was captured and then put on a ship. Alex Haley, he S5 researched the 18th Century and 19th Century an' the 20th Century.

APPENDIX C
Coded Sample, Written

Paper 3 Wr S1

Alex Haley invision (V1) finding his ancesterial background dating back in Africa during slavery. He had many questions that were unanswered.

He began his studies by traveling to Africa with two interpreters. When he reached a particular tribe he would questioned (V10) the eldest people of the tribe about parents and anything they could remember. He recorded all information and studied it. After questioning he would fly to London for more research and study. Then he would returned (V10) to the States for study and to make imformation lucid.

Mr. Haley kept a history of the life of Kuta Kwnite. He had one page for each year of his life. He tried to picture Kuta's experiences of being a slave. For example, he spent all night on a boat, stripped to his underwear, but even then, he wasn't able to experience the terrible, pain and harrassment that these slaves felt.

But after years of carefull and deligent study, we've been able to find out more about African Slavery. But there are still many questions unanswered.

Appendix D
List of Original and Revised Papers

Original Paper Number	Revised for Dialect	Revised for Speech Code	Revised for Print Code
1	-	-	X
2	-	-	-
3	X	-	-
4	-	X	-
5	-	X	-
6	-	X	-
7	-	-	-
8	-	-	-
9	-	X	X
10	-	X	-
11	-	X	-
12	X	-	-
13	X	-	-
14	-	-	X
15	-	-	-
16	X	-	X
17	X	-	X
18	-	X	X
19	X	-	-
20	-	-	-
21	-	-	-
22	-	-	-
23	X	-	X
24	X	-	X
25	-	X	-
26	-	-	X
27	-	X	-
28	-	X	-
29	-	-	-
30	-	-	-
31	-	-	X
32	X	-	-
33	X	-	X
34	X	-	X
35	-	-	-
36	X	-	-
37	-	-	X
38	-	-	X
39	X	-	-
40	-	X	-

X = Revised
- = Not Revised

Appendix E

M E M O R A N D U M

DATE: July 16, 1981

TO: Holistic Evaluators --

Eckert, Gaston, Hersch, James, Logan, Nispel,
Robitaille, Torsney, Valdez, & Verner

FROM: J. Scott

RE: Essay Evaluation

Your evaluation of the writing samples will be used in a research project. The research design calls for a spontaneous, holistic rating of each writing sample by ten evaluators. You should therefore read the papers and assign a rating as rapidly as possible. The rating scale to be used is 1 - 6: 1 = low and 6 = high. The research design also calls for a control of outside variables that might affect the ratings assigned to papers, e.g. fatigue of reader. The samples are divided into four sets, A - B - C - D, and each evaluator has been assigned an order in which to read the sets of papers. The papers in each set should also be read in the order in which they occur. Both the order and the spontaneity of your responses are important. Please do not go back to earlier papers nor ahead to later papers.

Attached is a copy of your evaluation forms and the assignment that was used to elicit written samples from a group of first term college freshmen.

Thanks for agreeing to evaluate the writing samples.